

SELECTIONS

FROM

THE FIRST FIVE BOOKS

OF

LIVY'S ROMAN HISTORY,

WITH

THE TWENTY-FIRST AND TWENTY-SECOND
BOOKS ENTIRE;

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES, A PLAN OF ROME, AND A MAP OF THE
PASSAGE OF HANNIBAL.

BY

JOHN L. LINCOLN, LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN BROWN UNIVERSITY.

NEW EDITION.

NEW YORK:

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.

1871.

ENTERED, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1847, by
D. APPLETON & CO.,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New York.

ENTERED, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1871, by
D. APPLETON & CO.,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

P R E F A C E .

THE present edition of a part of the History of Livy has been undertaken with the hope of supplying a deficiency, which has been for some time experienced by teachers and students in American colleges. In regard to the principle of selection, it has been the object of the editor to furnish, in the extracts from the first Five Books, those passages in the writings of Livy which best illustrate the poetic character of the early Roman history; and, by giving the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books entire, to present, in connection, a portion of authentic history, which yields to none in the entire work in point of interest and excellence. These extracts provide, it is believed, an amount of reading in Livy sufficient for the purposes of instruction in our colleges; and it was deemed inexpedient to increase unnecessarily the size of the volume.

The text is chiefly that of Alschevski; whose excellent edition is understood to mark a new era in the history of the text of Livy, and, in the judgment of distinguished European scholars, will unquestionably attain and long hold the rank of the standard critical edition

of Livy. Wherever other readings have been preferred to those of Alschefski, the reasons for the preference are usually given in the Notes.

The Notes have been prepared with chief reference to the grammatical study of the language; to the illustration of its forms, constructions, idioms, of its usages in general, and, in particular, of the usage of Livy. Wherever it was possible, it has been thought best, simply to furnish apt references to such grammars and auxiliary works as were supposed to be in the hands of the student; but important difficulties, which required more ample means of investigation and study, have been more fully discussed and explained. It is hoped that the Notes will be also found to embrace all necessary information relating to history, geography, and antiquities, together with useful references to such standard works as are accessible to the student. A list of such works as are commonly referred to may be found on the page immediately preceding the Notes. It has been the aim of the editor to furnish such assistance in the Notes as is needful to facilitate the progress of the diligent student; but above all things to avoid giving that pernicious help, whether in the form of indiscriminate translation, or of unnecessary explanation, which precludes all effort on the part of the pupil, and cripples his mental energies, by fostering habits of dependence and inaction.

The editions which have been consulted, besides Drakenborch's, have been those of Crevier, Ruperti, Bekker and Raschig, Twiss, Dymock by W. M. Gunn,

Fabri, and Alschefski. In the preparation of the notes upon the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books, the editor has been greatly indebted to the excellent edition of Fabri and the larger edition of Alschefski; but in the remainder, he is not aware that he has derived important aid from previous editions. In all cases he has aimed to acknowledge whatever direct assistance he has gained from the labors of others.

The Geographical Index has been partly translated from the edition of Fabri, and partly prepared from general sources.

The Plan of Rome, which accompanies the volume, has been taken from Professor W. A. Becker's recent work on Roman Antiquities; an account of the Map will be found on the page which faces it.

With these remarks, the present volume is submitted to the public, with the hope that it will be of some service in promoting the study of Livy, and of the noble language in which he wrote.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, *August*, 1847.

PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION.

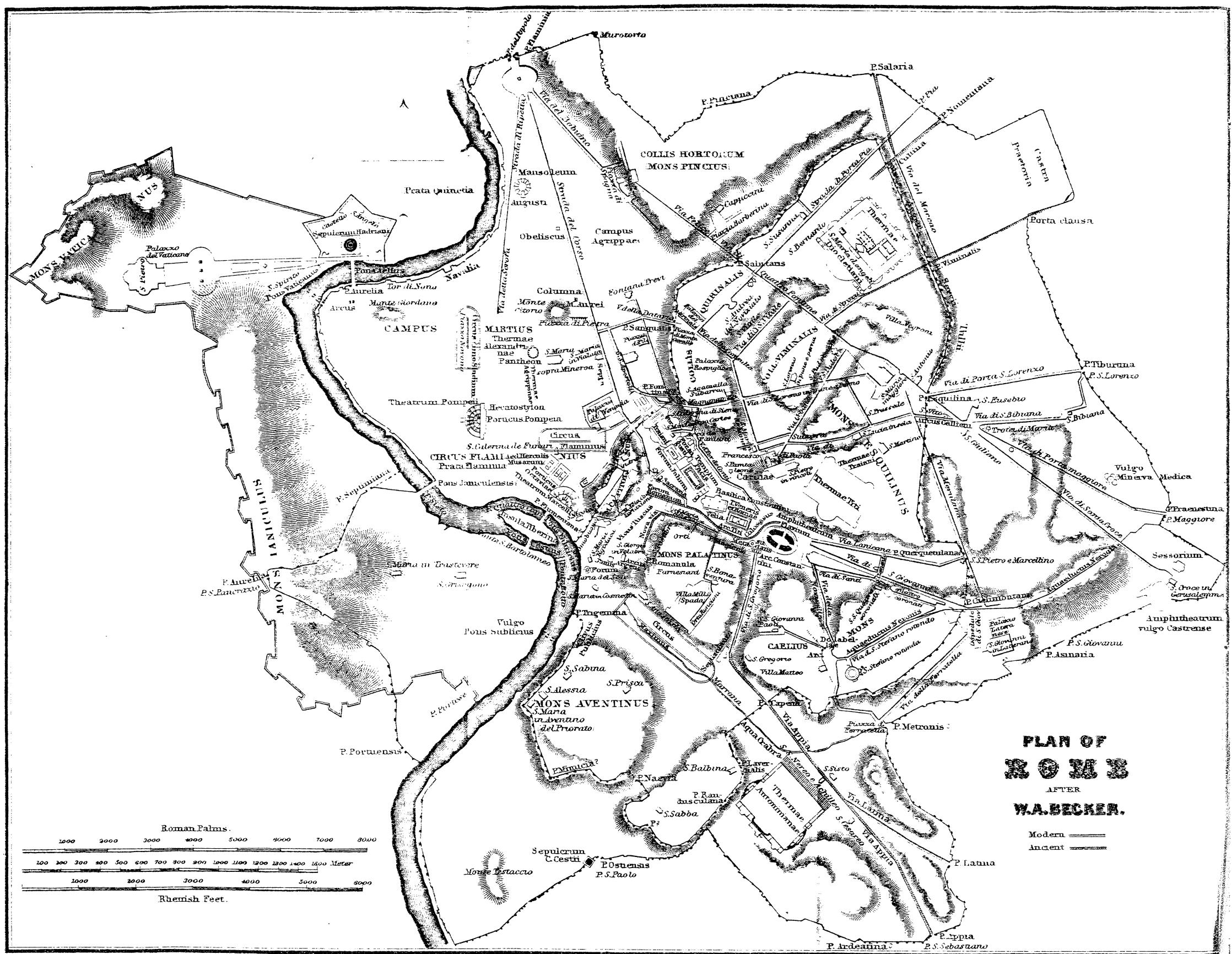
IN preparing this new edition, I have revised the text, and have adopted, in many instances, readings of Weissenborn and of Madvig, in place of those of Alschefski. Sometimes the new readings have been substituted silently, where there seemed to be no need of explanation; but all important changes are explained in the Notes. In respect to the Notes, I have not merely changed them by addition or other modification, but have rewritten them; as I could only in this way carry out my views of what is now needed in an edition of Livy intended for the use of our schools and colleges. I have endeavored to avail myself of whatever has been recently written in interpretation of Livy, and especially of the commentary of Weissenborn, in his edition published by Weidmann in Berlin; but the Notes embody almost exclusively the results of my own labors and experience as a college instructor, and I have aimed in preparing them to meet the difficulties and wants which have become familiar to me in the daily work of the class-room. I have followed the same views in respect to the kind and the amount of

assistance which should be given to the student, as were expressed in the Preface to the first edition; and I shall be glad if it shall be found that those views have been better illustrated in the present work.

After the lapse of more than twenty years since the first issue of my edition of "Selections from Livy's Roman History," I desire to make my grateful acknowledgments to the instructors who have so long used that book with their classes; and to express the hope that, in the event of their adopting the present edition, they will find it better fitted for its intended uses.

J. L. LINCOLN.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, *August*, 1871.



TITI LIVII

PRÆFATIO.

FACTURUSNE operæ pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim; quippe qui quum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte 5 rudem vetustatem superaturos, credunt. Utcumque erit, juvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriæ principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et, si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini officient meo, con- 10 soler. Res est præterea et immensi operis, ut quæ supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quæ, ab exiguis profecta initiis, eo creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primæ origines proximæque originibus minus præbitura voluptatis 15 sint, festinantibus ad hæc nova, quibus jam pridem prævalentis populi vires se ipsæ conficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris præmium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quæ nostra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers 20 curæ, quæ scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset. Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur hæc venia

antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium
augustiora faciat. Et, si cui populo licere oportet conse-
crare origines suas, et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli
gloria est populo Romano, ut, quum suum conditorisque
5 sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes
humanæ patiantur æquo animo, quam imperium patiuntur.
Sed hæc et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existi-
mata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine.
Ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quæ
10 vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibusque artibus,
domi militiaeque, et partum et auctum imperium sit; la-
bente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut desidentes primo
mores sequatur animo; deinde ut magis magisque lapsi
sint; tum ire cœperint præcipites; donec ad hæc tempora,
15 quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, per-
ventum est. Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum
salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in
illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque rei-
publicæ, quod imitare, capias, inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum
20 exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti
fallit, aut nulla unquam res publica nec major, nec sanctior,
nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam civitatem tam
seræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus
ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo,
25 quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper
divitiæ avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium per
luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia in-
vexere. Sed querelæ, ne tum quidem gratæ futuræ, quum
forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantæ ordiendæ
30 rei absint. Cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et pre-
cationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque
mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tanti operis
successus prosperos darent.

LIBRI PRIMI

CAP. I-XXVI. XXXII-XXXV. XXXIX-XLI. XLV-XLIX. LIII, LVI-LX.

I. Jam primum omnium satis constat, Troja capta in ceteros sævitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Æneæ Antenorque, et vetusti jure hospitii et quia pacis reddendæque Helenæ semper auctores fuerunt, omne jus belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum mul-
titudine Enetûm, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et
sedes et ducem, rege Pylæmene ad Trojam amisso, quæ-
rebant, venisse in intimum Hadriatici maris sinum; Eu-
ganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus,
Enetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem pri-
mum egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur, pagoque Trojano
inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. Æneam
ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad majora rerum initia
ducentibus fatiis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in
Siciliam quærentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad
Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troja et huic loco nomen
est. Ibi egressi Trojani, ut quibus ab immenso prope
errore nihil præter arma et naves superesset, quum præ-
dam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui
tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati
ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est;
alii, prælio victum Latinum, pacem cum Ænea, deinde
affinitatem junxisse tradunt; alii, quum instructæ acies
constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Lati-

num inter primores, ducemque advenarum evocasse ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde, aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quærentes in agrum Laurentinum exissent; postquam audierit, multitudinem Trojanos esse, ducem Æneam, filium Anchisæ et Veneris, cremata patria et domo profugos sedem condendæque urbis locum quærere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextera data fidem futuræ amicitiae sanxisse. Inde fœdus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Æneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adjunxisse fœdus, filia Æneæ in matrimonium data. Ea utique res Trojanis spem affirmat tandem stabili certaqué sede finiendi erroris: oppidum condunt; Æneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirps quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixerunt nomen.

II. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique simul petiti. Turnus, rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Æneæ fuerat, prælatus sibi advenam ægre patiens, simul Æneæ Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies læta ex eo certamine abiit; victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique, diffisi rebus, ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque, regem eorum, confugiunt; qui, Cære opulento tum oppido imperitans, jam inde ab initio minime lætus novæ origine urbis, et tum nimio plus, quam satis tutum esset accolis, rem Trojanam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Æneas adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, nec sub eodem jure solum, sed etiam nomine, omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Trojanis studio ac fide erga regem Æneam cessere; fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Æneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut jam non terras solum, sed mare etiam per totam Italiæ longitudinem, ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum, fama nominis sui

implesset, tamen, quum mœnibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde prælium Latinis, Æneæ etiam ultimum mortalium operum fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici jus fasque est, super Numicum fluvium; Jovem indigetem appellant.

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III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Æneæ filius erat: tamen id imperium ei ad puberem ætatem incolume mansit: tantisper tutela muliebri—tanta indoles in Lavinia erat—res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam—quis enim rem tam veterem pro 10 certo affirmet?—hiccine fuerit Ascanius, an major quam hic, Creusa matre Illo incolumi natus, comesque inde paternæ fugæ, quem Iulum eundem Julia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus—certe natum Ænea constat— 15 abundante Lavinii multitudine, florentem jam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercæ reliquit; novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quæ, ab situ porrectæ in dorso urbis, Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam deductam coloniam triginta 20 ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maxime fuis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Æneæ, nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolæ ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis 25 Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in silvis natus; is Æneam Silvium creat, is deinde Latinum Silvium; ab eo coloniæ aliquot deductæ, Prisci Latini appellati; mansit Silvii postea omnibus cognomen, 30 qui Albæ regnaverunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui, in trajecto Albulæ amnis submersus, celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa inde, Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius, a patre accepto imperio, 35 regnat; Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit; is, sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc pars Romanæ

est urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat, Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit, quam voluntas patris aut verecundia
 5 ætatis; pulso fratre, Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus; stirpem fratris virilem interemit, fratris filiae Reæ Silviae per speciem honoris, quum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fati tantæ origo urbis,
 10 maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalis, quum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpæ honestior erat, Martem incertæ stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii, nec homines, aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia
 15 vindicant; sacerdos vincita in custodiam datur; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet. Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad justî cursum poterat amnis; et, posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes, spem ferentibus dabat; ita,
 20 velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima alluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est—Romularem vocatam ferunt,—pueros exponunt. Vastæ tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenebatur fama, quum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem, ex montibus
 25 qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam submissas infantibus adeo mitem præbuisse mammæ, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit. Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt; ab eo ad stabula Larentiæ uxori educandos datos. Sunt, qui Larentiam, vulgato corpore, lupam inter pastores vocatam putent: inde
 30 locum fabulæ ac miraculo datum. Ita geniti, itaque educati, cum primum adolevit ætas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragraræ saltus; hinc, robore corporibus animisque sumpto jam non feras tantum sub
 35 sistere, sed in latrones, præda onustos, impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere; et cum his, crescente in dies grege juvenum, seria ac jocosa celebrare.

V. Jam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium, montem appellatum; ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi juvenes, Lycæum Pana venerantes, per lusum atque lasciviam currerent: quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, quum sollemne notum esset, insidiosos ob iram prædæ amissæ latrones, quum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri; inde eos collecta juvenum manu hostilem in modum prædas agere. Sic ad supplicium Numitori Remus deditur. Jam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos jussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem, aperire noluerat. Necessitas prior venit; ita, metu subactus, Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, quum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et ætatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo juvenum—nec enim erat ad apertam vim par—sed aliis alio itinere jussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastorebus, ad regem impetum facit; et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adjuvat Remus; ita regem obtruncant.

VI. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, quum pubem Albanam in arcem præsidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam juvenes perpetrata cæde pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio, scelus in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, cædem deinceps tyranni, seque ejus auctorem ostendit. Juvenes, per mediam concionem agmine ingressi, quum

avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit. Ita Numitori Albana re permissa, Romulum Remumque cupidus cepit, in his locis, ubi expositi, ubique educati erant, 5 urbis condendæ. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium, præ ea urbe, quæ conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupidus, atque inde 10 fœdum certamen coortum a satis miti principio; quoniam gemini essent, nec ætatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelæ ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novæ urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum, ad inau- 15 gurandum templa capiunt.

VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures, jamque, nuntiato augurio, quum duplex numerus Romulo sese ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat; tempore illi præcepto, at hi numero 20 u. c. avium, regnum trahebant. Inde, cum altercatione
 1. congressi, certamine irarum ad cædem vertuntur;
 A. C. ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama
 751. est, ludibrio fratris Remus novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, quum verbis quoque in- 25 crepitans adjecisset, "sic deinde, quicumque alius transiliet mœnia mea," interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit; sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Græco Herculi, ut ab Evandro 30 instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca, Geryone interempto, boves mira specie abegisse memorant, ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua, præ se armentum agens, nando trajecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo læto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi quum eum 35 cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum, quum avertere eam prædam vellet, quia, si agendo

armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quærentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus quum gregem perlustrasset oculis, et partem abesse numero sensisset, 5 pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quæ ubi omnia foras versa vidit, nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occepit. Inde quum actæ boves quædam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum 10 ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem quum ad speluncam vadentem Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava, fidem pastorum nequidquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca; venerabilis 15 vir miraculo litterarum, rei novæ inter rudes artium homines; venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentæ matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllæ in Italiam adventum miratæ eæ gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander, concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestæ reum cædis excitus, 20 postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque humana intuens, rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, "Jove nate, Hercules, salve," inquit; "te mihi mater, veridica interpres deûm, aucturum 25 cælestium numerum cecinit, tibi que aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat." Dextra Hercules data, accipere se omen impleturumque fata, ara condita ac dicata, ait. Ibidum primum bove eximia capta de grege, sacrum Her- 30 culi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quæ tum familiæ maxime inclytæ ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus præsto essent hisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii, extis adesis, ad ceteram venirent dapem: inde institutum mansit, donec 35 Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii, ab Evandro edocti, antistites sacri ejus per multas

ætates fuerunt, donec, tradito servis publicis sollemni
familiæ ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Hæc
tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit,
jam tum immortalitatis virtute partæ, ad quam eum sua
5 fata ducebant, fautor.

VIII. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis, vocataque ad con-
cilium multitudine, quæ coalescere in populi unius corpus
nulla re præterquam legibus poterat, jura dedit; quæ ita
sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venera-
10 bilem insignibus imperii fecisset, quum cetero habitu se
augustiores, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis,
fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quæ augurio regnum por-
tenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud pœni-
tet eorum sententiæ esse, quibus et apparitores et hoc genus
15 ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis unde toga prætexta
sumpta est, numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet: et ita
habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter
creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint. Cres-
cebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo
20 loca, quum in spem magis futuræ multitudinis, quam ad id,
quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vana urbis
magnitudo esset, adjiciendæ multitudinis causa, vetere
consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem
conciendo ad se multitudinem, natam e terra sibi prolem
25 ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus inter
duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis
turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida
novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad cœptam magni-
tudinem roboris fuit. Quum jam virium haud pœniteret,
30 consilium deinde viribus parat; centum creat senatores,
sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant,
qui creari patres possent; patres certe ab honore, patricii-
que progenies eorum appellati.

IX. Jam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet fini-
35 timarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum
hominis ætatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus
nec domi spes prolis, nec cum finitimis connubia essent.

Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent; urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere; satis scire, origini Romanæ et deos adfuisse, et non defuturam virtutem; proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est, adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant; ac plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent, id enim demum compar connubium fore. Ægre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim spectare res cœpit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, ægritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnes; Con- sualia vocat; indici deinde finitimis spectaculum jubet; quantoque apparatu tum sciebant, aut poterant, concelebrant, ut rem claram expectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndæ novæ urbis, maxime proximi quique, Cæninenses, Crustumini, Antemna- tes; jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac conjugibus venit; invitati hospitaliter per domos, quum situm mœniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditæque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis; signoque dato juvenus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem quæque inciderat, raptæ; quasdam forma excellentes, primoribus patrum destinatas, ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam, longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem, a globo Thalassii cujusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Thalassio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam. Turbato per metum ludicro, mæsti parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii fœdus, deumque invocantes, cujus ad sollemne ludosque, per fas ac fidem decepti, venissent. Nec

raptis aut spes de se melior, aut indignatio est minor; sed ipse Romulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui connubium finitimis negassent; illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, 5 et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore; molli-
rent modo iras, et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos; sæpe ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adniscurus pro se quisque sit, ut, quum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam 10 patriæque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiæ virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quæ maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

X. Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque 15 et querelis civitates concitabant; nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum; et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Cæninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos 20 ejus injuriæ pars pertinebat; lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates, pro ardore iraque Cæninensium, satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Cæninum in agrum Romanum impe- 25 tum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet, vanam sine viribus iram esse; exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in prælio obtruncat et spoliatur; duce hostium occiso, urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, 30 ipse, quum factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium cæsi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens, in Capitolium escendit; ibique ea quum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Jovis fines cognomenque ad- 35 didit deo; "Jupiter Feretri," inquit, "hæc tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spo-

liis, quæ, regibus ducibusque hostium cæsis, me auctorem sequentes, posteri ferent.” Hæc templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romæ sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine com- 5 potum ejus doni vulgari laudem; bina postea, inter tot annos tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit.

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Ro- 10 manos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit; fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia conjux, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam, et 15 in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniæ missæ; plures inventi, qui, propter ubertatem terræ, in Crus- 20 tuminum nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum; multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem 25 actum est; nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus; Spurius Tarpeius Romanæ præerat arci: hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tati- us, ut armatos in arcem accipiat; aquam forte ea tum sacris extra mœnia petitum ierat. Accepti obrutam armis 30 necavere; seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabulæ, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio lævo, gemmatosque magna specie annulos habuerint, pepigisse eam, quod in sinistris manibus 35 haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt, qui eam, ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus esset,

directo arma petisse dicant; et, fraude visam agere, sua ipsam peremptam mercede.

- XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini; atque inde postero die, quum Romanus exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatium Capitolinumque collem campi est, compleret, non prius descenderunt in æquum, quam, ira et cupiditate recuperandæ arcis stimulante animos, in adversum Romani subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem
- 10 Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audacia sustinebat; ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus, et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma ad cælum tollens, “Jupiter, tuis,” inquit, “jussus avibus hic in Palatio prima
- 15 urbi fundamenta jeci; arcem jam scelere emptam, Sabini habent; inde huc armati, superata media valle, tendunt. At tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Romanis, fugamque fœdam siste; hic ego tibi templum Statori Jovi, quod monumentum sit posteris
- 20 tua præsentī ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.” Hæc precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, “hinc,” inquit, “Romani, Jupiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam jubet.” Restitere Romani, tamquam cælesti voce jussi; ipse ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius
- 25 Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est; nec procul jam a porta Palatii erat, clamitans, “vicinus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes; jam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.” In eum, hæc
- 30 gloriantem, cum globo ferocissimorum juvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit; pulsum Romani persequuntur, et alia Romana acies, audacia regis accensa, fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese, strepitu sequentium trepidante
- 35 equo, conjecit; averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri; et ille quidem, adnventibus ac vocantibus suis, favore multorem addito animo, evadit. Romani Sa-

binique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant prælium, sed res Romana erat superior.

XIII. Tum Sabinæ mulieres, quarum ex injuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausæ se inter tela volantia inferre, ex 5 transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras; hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne sanguine se nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem; “si affinitatis inter vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite 10 iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac cædium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus, quam sine alteris vestrum viduæ aut orbæ vivemus.” Movet res quum multitudinem, tum duces; silentium et repentina u. c. fit quies; inde ad fœdus faciendum duces prodeunt, 7. 15 nec pacem modo, sed civitatem unam ex duabus A. C. faciunt; regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt 745. Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum ejus pugnæ, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude 20 equum Curtius in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

Ex bello tam tristi læta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus, et ante omnes Romulo ipsi, fecit: itaque, quum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, quum haud dubie 25 aliquanto numerus major hoc mulierum fuerit, ætate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectæ sint, quæ nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriæ tres equitum conscriptæ sunt; Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa 30 incerta est. Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam, regnum duobus regibus fuit.

XIV. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Laurentium pulsant, quumque Laurentes jure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. 35 Igitur illorum pœnam in se vertit: nam Lavinii, quum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto, interfici-

citur. Eam rem minus ægre quam dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt; seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud injuria cæsum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriæ re-
 5 gisque cædes, fœdus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est. Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat; aliud multo propius, atque in ipsis prope portis, bellum ortum. Fidenates, nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset quantum futu-
 10 rum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Juventute armata immissa, vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est; inde ad lævam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens, ex agris in urbem illatus, pro nuntio fuit.
 15 Excitus Romulus—neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat—exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico præsidio relicto, egressus omnibus copiis, partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris subsidere insidiis jussit; cum parte ma-
 20 jore atque omni equitatu profectus,—id quod quærebat—tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae, adequitando ipsis prope portis, hostem excivit. Fugæ quoque, quæ simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit: et quum, velut inter pugnae fugæque consilium
 25 trepidante equitatu, pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes, impulsa Romana acie, studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui
 30 in præsidio relicti fuerant; ita multiplici terrore percussi Fidenates, prius pæne, quam Romulus, quique cum eo equites erant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque effusius—quippe vera fuga—qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen
 35 eripuerunt se hosti; hærens in tergo Romanus, prius quam fores portarum objicerentur, velut agmine uno irrumpit.

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium

animi et consanguinitate—nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt,—et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt, populabundi magis quam justis more belli; itaque non castris positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris prædam portantes Veios rediere. 5 Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimæ instructus intentusque, Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere, et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de tectis mœnibusque dimicarent. Ibi, viribus nulla arte adjutis, tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit; persecutusque fusos ad mœnia hostes, urbe, valida muris ac situ ipso munita, abstinuit; agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magis, quam prædæ, studio; ea- 15 que clade, haud minus quam adversa pugna, subacti Veientes pacem petitem oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos induciæ datæ.

Hæc ferme, Romulo regnante, domi militiæque gesta; quorum nihil absõnum fidei divinæ originis divinitatisque 20 post mortem creditæ fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendæ urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandæ; ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe 25 ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad exercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Capræ paludem 30 haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus concioni abstulerit; nec deinde 37. in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, sedato tantum 35. dem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et 715. 35 tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuum sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proximi steterant,

sublimem raptum procella; tamen velut orbitatis metu ieta, mæstum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde, a paucis initio facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanæ salvere universi Romulum jubent; pacem
 5 precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim hæc quoque sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor præsens nobilitavit. Et
 10 consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides: namque Proculus Julius—sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus—gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnæ rei auctor, in concionem prodit; “Romulus,” inquit, “Quirites, parens urbis hujus, prima hodierna luce cælo repente
 15 delapsus, se mihi obvium dedit. Quum, perfusus horrore venerabundus, adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset, abi, nuntia, inquit, Romanis, cælestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant, nullas
 20 opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.” “Hæc,” inquit, “locutus, sublimis abiit.” Mirum, quantum illi viro nuntianti hæc fidei fuerit; quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque, facta fide immortalitatis, lenitum sit.

25 XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat; necdum a singulis, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat; factionibus inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate æqua
 30 possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus, regnari tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine
 35 duce, multarum circa civitatum irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur; et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem

inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis, qui summæ rerum præessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri. Quum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati, quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt, summa potestate populo permissa, ut non plus darent juris, quam detinerent; decreverunt enim, ut, quum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis, usurpatur idem jus, vi adempta; priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt. Tum interrex concione advocata, "Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit," inquit, "Quirites, regem create; ita patribus visum est; patres deinde, si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, crearit, auctores fient." Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent juberentque, ut senatus decerneret, qui Romæ regnaret.

XVIII. Inclyta justitia religioque ea tempestate Numæ Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse ætate poterat, omnis divini atque humani juris. Auctorem doctrinæ ejus, quia non exstat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt; quem, Servio Tullio regnante Romæ, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiæ ora, circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotonam, juvenum æmulantium studia cœtus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi ejusdem ætatis fuisset, quæ fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguæ commercio, quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? quove præsidio unus per tot gentes, dissonas sermone moribusque, pervenisset? Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fu-

isse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis arti-
 bus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum,
 quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito
 nomine Numæ, patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes
 5 ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur, tamen, neque
 se quisquam, nec factionis suæ alium, nec denique patrum
 aut civium quemquam præferre illi viro ausi, ad unum
 omnes Numæ Pompilio regnum deferendum de-
 u. c. cernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe
 10 39. condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos
 A. C. consuli jussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde hono-
 713. ris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium
 fuit, deductus in arcem, in lapidem ad meridiem
 versus consedit; augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato,
 15 sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum
 tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi, prospectu in
 urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regiones ab oriente
 ad oëcasum determinavit, dexteram ad meridiem partes,
 lævas ad septemtrionem esse dixit; signum contra, quo
 20 longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum
 lituo in lævam manum translato, dextra in caput Numæ
 imposita, precatus ita est; "Jupiter pater, si est fas hunc
 Numam Pompilium, cujus ego caput teneo, regem Romæ
 esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines,
 25 quos feci." Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quæ mitti vellet;
 quibus missis, declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

XIX. Qui regno ita potitus, urbem novam, conditam vi
 et armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro con-
 dere parat. Quibus quum inter bella assuescere videret non
 30 posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem
 populum armorum desuetudine ratus. Janum ad infimum
 Argiletum, indicem pacis bellicque, facit, apertus ut in armis
 esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos, signi-
 ficaret. Bis deinde post Numæ regnum clausus fuit, semel
 35 T. Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum bel-
 lum, iterum, quod nostræ ætati dii dederunt ut videremus,
 post bellum Actiacum, ab imperatore Cæsare Augusto pace

terra marique parta. Clauso eo, quum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac fœderibus junxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam, et illis 5 sæculis rudem, efficacissimam, deorum metum injiciendum ratus est. Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere; sacerdotes suos cuique 10 deorum præficere. Atque omnium primum, ad cursus lunæ, in duodecim menses describit annum; quem, quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo 15 anno ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quam- 20 quam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quæ nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed, quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numæ similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiæ vicis desererentur, flaminem Jovi assiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique 25 eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit; huic duos flamines adjecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino. Virginesque Vestæ legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium, et genti conditoris haud alienum; iis, ut assiduæ templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque cærimo- 30 niis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit; tunicæque pictæ insigne dedit, et super tunicam æneum pectori tegimen; cælestiaque arma, quæ ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu jussit. Ponti- 35 ficem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit;

quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quæ templa, sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subjecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid 5 divini juris, negligendo patrios ritus, peregrinosque adsciscendo, turbaretur. Nec cælestes modo cærimonias, sed justa quoque funebria, placandosque manes, ut idem pontifex edoceret, quæque prodigia, fulminibus aliove quo visu missa, susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex 10 mentibus divinis Jovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, deumque consuluit auguriis, quæ suscipienda essent.

XXI. Ad hæc consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum assidua insidens cura, quum interesse 15 rebus humanis cæleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo legum ac pœnarum metu, civitatem regerent; et quum ipsi se homines in regis velut unici exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra non urbem posi- 20 tam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum, violare ducerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua: quo quia se persæpe Numa sine arbitris, velut ad 25 congressum deæ, inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit; quod earum ibi concilia cum conjuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei sollemne instituit; ad id sacrarium flamines bigis, curru arcuato, vehi jussit, manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere; significantes fidem tutandam, 30 sedemque ejus etiam in dexteris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quæ Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regni tempus, haud minor pacis, quam regni. Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello, hic 35 pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Quum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

XXII. Numæ morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem u. c. populus jussit; patres auctores facti. Hic non solum 82. proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam quam A. C. 5 Romulus fuit; quum ætas viresque, tum avita quoque 670. gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus, undique materiam excitandi belli quærebat. Forte evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano, prædas in vicem agerent. Imperitabat tum 10 Gaius Cluilius Albæ. Utrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus præceperat suis, ne quid prius quam mandata agerent; satis sciebat negaturum Albanum; ita pie bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta; excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac 15 benigne, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores, et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Hæc renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, fecit. Illi, omnium ignari, primum purgando 20 terunt tempus: se invitos quidquam, quod minus placeat Tullo, dicturos, sed imperio subigi; res repetitum se venisse; ni reddantur, bellum indicere jussos. Ad hæc Tullus, "nuntiate" inquit, "regi vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes legatos 25 aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant hujusce cladis belli."

XXIII. Hæc nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Trojanam utramque prolem, 30 quum Lavinium ab Troja, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit; quod nec acie certatum est, et, tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis, duo populi in unam confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exer- 35 citu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque millia passuum locant, fossa circum-

dant; fossa Cluillii ab nomine ducis per aliquot sæcula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant. Interim Tullus 5 ferox, præcipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum pœnas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte, præteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettium; ducit, quam proxime 10 ad hostem potest. Inde legatum præmissum nuntiare Tullo jubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio: si secum congressus sit, satis scire, ea se allaturum, quæ nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana afferebantur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani. Postquam 15 structi utrimque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces prodeunt. Ibi infit Albanus: "inurias et non redditas res, ex fœdere quæ repetitæ sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilius, causam hujusce esse belli, audisse videor; 20 nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem præ te ferre. Sed, si vera potius quam dictu speciosa, dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, recte an perperam, interpreter: fuerit ista ejus deliberatio, qui bellum suscepit. Me Albani gerendo bello ducem 25 creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim; Etrusca res, quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis, hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, jam, quum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac 30 victum, aggrediantur. Itaque, si nos dii amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa, in dubiam imperii servitii que aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, qua, utri utris impèrent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi, decerni possit." Haud displicet res Tullo, quam 35 quam, quum indole animi, tum spe victoriae, ferocior erat. Quærentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa præbuit materiam.

XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigeni fratres, nec ætate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint; auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro; ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusat. Tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, 10 fœdus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cujusque populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret. Fœdera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior fœderis memoria est: fetialis 15 regem Tullum ita rogavit; “jubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani fœdus ferire?” jubente rege, “sagmina” inquit “te, rex, posco.” Rex ait, “puram tollito.” Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit; “rex, facisne me tu regium 20 nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa, comitesque meos?” rex respondit; “quod sine fraude mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.” Fetialis erat M. Valerius. Is patrem patratum Spurium Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad jusjurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit fœdus, multisque id verbis, quæ longo effata carmine non operæ est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis “audi” inquit “Jupiter, audi, pater patrato populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus; ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata 30 sunt, sine dolo malo, utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet; si prior defexit publico consilio, dolo malo, tum tu illo die Jupiter populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, 3. quanto magis potes pollesque.” Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque

jusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

XXV. Fœdere icto, trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Quum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suopte ingenio, et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis præsentis quam curæ, expertes: quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum; itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur. Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit, et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus, quum jam non motus tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum quum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret. Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, quum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse; in eum magno impetu rediit, et, dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, uti opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius, cæso hoste victor, secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani

adjuvant militem suum, et ille defungi prælio festinat. Prius itaque, quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Jamque, æquato Marte, singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares: alterum intactum ferro corpus, et geminata victoria, ferocem in certamen tertium dabat, alter, fessum vulnere fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud prælium fuit: Romanus exsultans, "duos," inquit, "fratrum Manibus dedi, tertium causæ belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo;" 10 male sustinenti arma gladium superne jugulo defigit, jacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri 15 ditionis alienæ facti. Sepulera exstant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

XXVI. Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettione, ex fœdere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti juvenutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina spolia præ se gerens; cui soror virgo, quæ desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque super humeros 25 fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci juveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico; stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam; "abi hinc cum 30 immaturo amore ad sponsum," inquit, "oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriæ; sic eat, quæcumque Romana lugebit hostem." Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique; sed recens meritum facto obstabat. Tamen raptus in jus ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus judicii, ac secundum judicium, supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, "duumviros," in-

quit, "qui Horatio perduellionem judicent, secundum legem facio." Lex horrendi carminis erat: "duumviri perduellionem judicent; si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato; si vincent, caput obnubito, infelici arbori reste suspendito, verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium." Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, quum condemnassent, tum alter ex his, "Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem judico," inquit; "lictor, colliga manus." Accesserat lictor injiciens batque laqueum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, "provoco," inquit. Ita de provocatione certatum ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo judicio, maxime Publio Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam jure cæsam judicare; ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium animadvertendum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbem liberis facerent. Inter hæc senex, juvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur, ostentans, "hunccine," aiebat, "quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis, quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent? i, lictor, colliga manus, quæ paulo ante armatæ imperium populo Romano pepererunt; i, caput obnube liberatoris urbis hujus: arbori infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomerium—modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium—vel extra pomerium—modo inter sepulera Curiatorum. Quo enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta fœditate supplicii vindicent?" Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas, nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque, admiratione magis virtutis, quam jure causæ. Itaque, ut cædes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quæ deinde genti Horatiæ tradita sunt, transmissa per viam tigillo, capite adoperto, velut sub jugum misit juvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper

refectum manet, sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiæ sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

XXXII. Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant; quo comitia habente, Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numæ Pompilii regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius erat; qui, ut regnare cœpit, et avitæ gloriæ memor, et quia proximum regnum—cetera egregium—ab una parte haud
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 satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus, aut prave cultis, longèque antiquissimum ratus, sacra publica, ut ab Numa instituta erant, facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album elata proponere in publico jubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis, 15 et finitimis civitatibus, facta spes, in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum fœdus erat, sustulerant animos; et, quum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem 20 Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numæ et Romuli memor; et, præterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat, quum in novo, tum feroci populo, etiam, quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuria 25 id se haud facile habiturum; tentari patientiam, et tentatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numæ. Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicæ cærimonie proderentur; nec gererentur solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, jus 30 ab antiqua gente Æquicolis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur. Legatus, ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo—lanæ velamen est—“audi, Jupiter,” inquit, “audite, fines,”—cujuscumque gentis sunt, nominat—“audiat fas; ego sum 35 publicus nuntius populi Romani; juste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit.” Peragit deinde postulata.

Inde Jovem testem facit; "si ego injuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriæ compotem me nunquam sîris esse." Hæc, cum fines supra-scandit, hæc, quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, hæc, 5 portam ingrediens, hæc, forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique jurisjurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur, quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta—tot enim sollemnes sunt—peractis, bellum ita indicit: "Audi Jupiter et tu Juno, Quirine diique omnes cælestes, vosque 10 terrestres, vosque inferni audite; ego vos testor, populum illum"—quicumque est, nominat—"injustum esse neque jus persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria majores natu consulemus, quo pacto jus nostrum adipiscamur." Cum his nuntius Roman ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex 15 ex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: "quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari solvi fieri oportuit, dic," inquit 20 ei, quem primum sententiam rogabat, "quid censes?" Tum ille: "puro pioque duello quærendas censeo, itaque consentio consciscoque." Inde ordine alii rogabantur, quandoque pars major eorum, qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut 25 fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam præustam ad fines eorum ferret, et non minus tribus puberibus præsentibus diceret: "quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum 30 cum Priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque." Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines 35 eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitæ res ac bellum indictum; moremque eum posterii acceperunt.

XXXIII. Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus

sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto, profectus Politorium urbem Latinorum vi cepit, secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam tra-
duxit: et, quum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romano- 5
rum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Cælium montem Albani implessent, Aventinum novæ multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post, Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini; eaque causa 10
diruendæ urbis ejus fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo, omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto, varia victoria, pugnatum est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus, præsidioque firmata valido erat, et, castris in aperto positis, 15
aliquoties exercitus Latinus cominus cum Romanis signa contulerat; ad ultimum, omnibus copiis connisus Ancus acie primum vincit, inde, ingenti præda potens, Romam redit, tum quoque multis millibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis; quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad 20
Murciæ datæ sedes. Janiculum quoque adjectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam, ob commoditatem itineris, ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, conjungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum 25
a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, quum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciæ media urbe imminens foro ædificatur. Nec urbs 30
tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque; silva Mæsia Veientibus adempta, usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita; salinæ circa factæ, egregieque rebus bello gestis, ædis Jovis Feretrii amplificata. 35

XXXIV. Anco regnante, Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit, cupidine maxime ac

spe magni honoris, cujus adipiscendi Tarquiniis—nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat—facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui, ob seditiones domo profugus, quum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore
5 ibi ducta, duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri, bonorum omnium heres, Arruns prior quam pater moritur, uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui quum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando
10 nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra, omnium heredi bonorum, quum divitiæ jam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et quæ haud facile his, in quibus
15 nata erat, humiliora sineret ea, quibus innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem, exsule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitæ erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum
20 visa; in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum, nobilemque una imagine Numæ esse. Facile persuadet, ut cupido honorum,
25 et cui Tarquini materna tantum patria esset; sublatis itaque rebus, commigrant Romam. Ad Janiculum forte ventum erat; ibi ei, carpento sedenti cum uxore, aquila suspensis demissa leviter alis, pileum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus, velut
30 ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium læta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, cælestium prodigiorum mulier; excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum jubet; eam alitem ea regione cæli et ejus dei nuntiam venisse, circa summum
35 culmen hominis auspicium fecisse, levasse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes, urbem ingressi sunt,

domicilioque ibi comparato, L. Tarquinius Priscum edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiæque faciebant, et ipse fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque quos poterat sibi conciliando, adjuvabat; donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est; notitiamque eam brevi, apud regem liberaliter dextereque obeundo officia, in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset, et, per omnia expertus, postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

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XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Jam filii prope puberem ætatem erant; eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit; isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum, et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam, quum, se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romæ peregrinus regnum affectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste, regem factum, et Numam, ignarum urbis, non petentem, in regnum ultro accitum; se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum conjuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse: majorem partem ætatis ejus, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romæ se quam in vetere patria vixisse; domi militiæque sub haud pænitando magistro—ipso Anco rege—Romana se jura, Romanos ritus didicisse; obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Hæc eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendæ rei publicæ memor, centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum La-

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tinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Appiolas vi cepit; prædaque inde majore, quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta, ludos opulentiùs instructiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum circo, qui nunc maximus dicitur, designatus locus
5 est; loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati; spectavere furcis duode-nos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes; ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti; sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appel-
10 lati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis ædificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernæque factæ.

XXXIX. Eo tempore in regia prodigium visum even-
tuque mirabile fuit; puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu.
15 Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantæ rei miraculum orto ex-citos reges; et, quum quidam familiarium aquam ad restin-guendum ferret, ab regina retentum; sedatoque jam tu-multu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte exper-rectus esset: mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum
20 abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil, "viden' tu puerum hunc," inquit, "quem tam humili cultu educamus? scire licet, hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum præsidiumque regiæ afflictæ; proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutri-
25 amus." Inde puerum liberâ loco cæptum haberi erudi-rique artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnæ fortunæ cultum excitantur. Evenit facile, quod diis cordi esset: juvenis evasit vere indolis regiæ, nec quum quæreretur gener Tar-quinio, quisquam Romanæ juventutis ulla arte conferri
30 potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic, quacumque de causa, tantus illi honos habitus, credere prohibet, serva-natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiæ sum, qui, Corniculo capto, Servii Tullii—qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat—gravidam viro occiso uxorem,
35 quum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobili-tatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romæ edidisse, Prisci Tarquinii domo; inde tanto bene-

ficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur, fecisse.

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare 5
cœperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romæ advenam non modo vicinæ sed ne Italicæ 10
quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed præceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quam Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id Ser- 15
vius serva natus possideat: quum commune Romani nominis, tum præcipue id domus suæ, dedecus fore, si, Anci regis virili stirpe salva, non modo advenis, sed servis etiam, regnum Romæ pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt; sed et injuriæ dolor in Tarquinium 20
ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat; et quia gravior ultor cædis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus; tum, Servio occiso, quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturum videbatur. Ob hæc ipsi regi insidiæ parantur; ex pastoribus duo 25
ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiæ, quam potuerunt tumultuosissime, specie rixæ in se omnes apparitores regiones convertunt; inde, quum ambo regem appellarent, clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad 30
regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari, et certatim alter alteri obstrepere, coerciti ab lictore, et jussi in vicem dicere, tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ex composito orditur; dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput dejecit, relictoque in vulnere telo 35
ambo se foras ejiciunt.

XLI. Tarquinium moribundum quum, qui circa erant,

excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet, arbitros ejecit; simul, quæ curando vulnere opus sunt, tamquam
 5 spes subesset, sedulo comparat: simul, si destituat spes, alia præsidia molitur. Servio propere accito quum pæne exsanguem virum ostendisset, dexteram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat; “tuum est,” inquit, “Servi, si vir es, regnum, non
 10 eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere; erige te, deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt; nunc te illa cælestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere; et nos peregrini regnavimus; qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa; si
 15 tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere.” Quum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte ædium per fenestras in novam viam versus—habitat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris—populum Tanaquil alloquitur: jubet bono animo esse; sopitum
 20 fuisse regem subito ictu, ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; jam ad se redisse: inspectum vulnus absterso cruore, omnia salubria esse; confidere, prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio jubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum jura redditurum obiturumque alia
 25 regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodit, ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat; itaque per aliquot dies, quum jam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte, per speciem
 v. c. alienæ fungendæ vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum
 30 176. demum palam factum: et comploratione in regia A. C. orta, Servius, præsidio firmo munitus, primus injussu
 576. populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi jam tum, quum, comprehensis sceleris ministris, vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nuntiatum est, Suessam
 35 Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

XLV. Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis

opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Jam tum erat inclytum Dianæ Ephesiæ fanum. Id communiter a civitatibus Asiæ factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres Latinorum, 5 cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria junxerat; sæpe iterando eadem, perpulit tandem, ut Romæ fanum Dianæ populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio, caput rerum Romam esse, de quo toties armis certatum fuerat. Id quamquam omis- 10 jam ex omnium cura Latinorum, ob rem toties infelicitertentatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patrifamiliæ dicitur, miranda magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas ætates cornua in vestibulo templi 15 Dianæ monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates, cujus civitatis eam cives Dianæ immolassent, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianæ. Sabinusque, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam 20 deducit ad fanum Dianæ et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, quum eum magnitudo victimæ celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita alloquitur: "quidnam tu, hospes, paras," inquit, "inceste sacrificium Dianæ facere? quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? infima valle 25 præfluit Tiberis." Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim; interea Romanus immolat Dianæ bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

XLVI. Servius, quamquam jam usu haud dubium 30 regnum possederat, tamen, quia interdum jactari voces a juvene Tarquinio audiebat, se injussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent jubere- 35 rentne se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni diminuit; immo eo impensius,

quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit
5 enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut tædio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius—Prisci Tarquinii regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim—fratrem habuerat
10 Arruntem Tarquinium mitis ingenii juvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duæ Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsæ longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia,
15 nihil materiæ in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse: tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium, eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum, spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit malum malo
20 aptissimum: sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni assuefacta sermonibus nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum cælibem
25 futurum fuisse contendere quam cum impari jungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset; si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adolescentem suæ temeritatis implet; Lucius Tarquinius
30 et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus quum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

XLVII. Tum vero in diēs infestior Tullii senectus, infestius cœpit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad aliud
35 spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita præterita parricidia essent; non sibi defuisse, cui innupta diceretur, nec cum quo

tacita serviret: defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet; "si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc pejus mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia est 5 scelus. Quin accingeris? non tibi ab Corintho, nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est: dii te penates patrique, et patris imago, et domus regia, et in domo regale solium, et nomen Tarquinius creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad hæc parum est animi, 10 quid frustraris civitatem? quid te ut regium juvenem conspici sinis? facesse hinc Tarquinius aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior quam patris." Iis aliisque increpando juvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, quum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum 15 moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro, ac deinceps genero, dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare, minorum maxime gentium, patres; admonere 20 paterni beneficii ac pro eo gratiam repetere, allicere donis juvenes, quum de se ingentia pollicendo, tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere; postremo, ut jam agendæ rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum, in forum irrupit; inde, omnibus percussis pavore, in regia sede pro 25 curia sedens, patres in curiam per præconem ad regem Tarquinium citari jussit. Convenere extemplo, alii jam ante ad hoc præparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti, et jam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius, maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: 30 servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno ut antea inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus—muliebri dono regnum occupasse; ita natum ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio 35 alienæ honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quæ communia quondam fue-

rint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius quum intervenisset, tre-
 5 pido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiæ magna
 voce, “quid hoc,” inquit, “Tarquini, rei est? qua tu auda-
 cia, me vivo, vocare ausus es patres, aut in sede considerare
 mea?” Quum ille ferociter ad hæc, se patris sui tenere
 sedem, multo, quam servum, potiolem filium regis regni
 10 heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse
 dominis; clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et con-
 cursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum,
 qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius—necessitate jam etiam ipsa
 cogente ultima audere—multo et ætate et viribus validior,
 15 medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curia in inferiorem
 partem per gradus dejecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in
 curiam rediit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum;
 ipse prope exsanguis, quum sine regio comitatu domum se
 reciperet, ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem conse-
 20 cuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a
 cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliæ id factum: carpento certe
 —id quod satis constat—in forum invecta, nec reverita
 cœtum virorum, evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima
 appellavit: a quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu quum
 25 se domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium
 vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra
 in Urbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarium eveheretur,
 restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui jumenta age-
 bat, jacentemque dominæ Servium trucidatum ostendit.
 30 Fœdum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumento-
 que locus est, Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens, agi-
 tantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus
 carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac cædis
 paternæ cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque,
 35 tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo
 regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.
 Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta

ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis æmulatio esset; ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt; id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse, quidam auctores sunt; ni scelus intestinum liberandæ patriæ consilia agitantibus intervenisset.

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare cocepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum generi sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servii rebus favisse credebat, interfecit. Conscius deinde, male quærendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circum-sæpsit; neque enim ad jus regni quidquam præter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi jussu neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset; quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat, non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud, quam prædam, sperare posset. Præcipue ita patrum numero imminuto, statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, injussu populi ac senatus, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hospitium modo cum primoribus eorum sed affinitates quoque jungebat; Octavio Mamilio Tusculano—is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famæ credimus, ab Ulixedeque Circa oriundus—ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

LIII. Nec, ut injustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; quin ea arte æquasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam ætatem
5 annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Ubi quum divendita præda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Jovis templi, quæ digna deûm hominumque rege, quæ Romano imperio, quæ ipsius etiam loci majestate esset; captivam pecuniam in
10 ædificationem ejus templi seposuit. . . .

LVI. Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruria accitis, non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui quum haud parvus et ipse militiæ adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur, se
15 templa deum exædificare manibus suis, quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto majoris, traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos, cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova
20 hæc magnificentia quidquam adæquare potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinē, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, præsidia urbi futura terra marique. Hæc agenti
25 portentum terribile visum; anguis, ex columna lignea elapsus, quum terrorem fugamque in regiam fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus, quam anxiis implevit curis. Itaque quum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus
30 visu, Delphos ad maxime inclytum in terris oraculum mittere statuit; neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Græciam misit. Titus et Arruns perfecti; comes iis additus L. Junius Brutus, Tarquinia so-
35 rore regis natus, juvenis longe alius ingenio, quam cujus simulationem induerat. Is, quum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectem audisset, neque

in animo suo quidquam regi timendum, neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in jure parum præsidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiæ, quum se suaque prædæ esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuuit cognomen, ut, sub ejus obtentu cognominis, liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquinii ductus Delphos,—ludibrium verius quam comes— aureum baculum, inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo, tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingennii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis, cupido incessit animos juvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: “imperium summum Romæ habebit, qui vestrum primus, O juvenes, osculum matri tulerit.” Tarquinius Sextus, qui Romæ relictus fuerat, ut ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri jubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redissent, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus, alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.

LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea ætate, divitiis præpollens; eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus quum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum præda delenire popularium animos studebat, præter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam, quod se in fabrorum ministerio ac servili tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Tentata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset; ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque cæpti premi hostes. In his stativis—ut fit longo magis quam acri bello—satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis quam militibus; regii quidem juvenes interdum otium convivii comisationibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his

apud Sex. Tarquinius, ubi et Collatinus cœnabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis; inde certamine accenso, Collatinus negat, verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis
 5 posse sciri, quantum ceteris præstet Lucretia sua; “quin, si vigor juventæ inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque præsentibus nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis.” Incaluerant vino; “Age sane,” omnes; citatis equis avolant
 10 Romam. Quo quum, primis se intendentibus tenebris, pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam, haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum æqualibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanæ inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio ædium
 15 sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne; victor maritus comiter invitat regios juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiæ per vim stuprandæ capit; quum forma, tum spectata castitas incitat.
 20 Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

LVIII. Paucis interjectis diebus, Sex. Tarquinius, inscio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii, quum post cœnam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens—postquam satis
 25 tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur—stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, “tace, Lucretia,” inquit, “Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emisericis vocem.” Quum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem
 30 imminentem, videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebre animus. Ubi obstinatum videbat, et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus; cum mortua jugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido
 35 adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore quum vicisset obstinatum pudicitiam velut victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucre-

tia, mæsta tanto malo, nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatoque opus esse, rem atrocem incidisse. Spurius Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Junio Bruto venit, cum quo 5 forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem mæstam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimæ obortæ: quærentique viro, "satin' salve?" "Minime," inquit; "quid enim salvi est mulieri, amissa pudicitia; vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in 10 lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque, haud impune adultero fore; Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite, priore nocte vi, armatus, mihi sibi, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium." Dant 15 ordine omnes fidem; consolantur ægram animi, avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti; mentem peccare, non corpus, et, unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse. "Vos," inquit, "videritis, quid illi debeatur; ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde im- 20 pudica Lucretiæ exemplo vivet." Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit, prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.

LIX. Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiæ extractum, manantem cruore præ se tenens, 25 "per hunc," inquit, "castissimum ante regiam injuriam sanguinem juro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquiniū Superbum cum scelerata conjuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, executurum, nec illos, nec alium quemquam regnare Romæ 30 passurum." Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut præceptum erat, jurant, totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum, jam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Elatum 35 domo Lucretiæ corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novæ atque indignitate homines. Pro

se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet quum patris mæstitia, tum Brutus castigatior lacrimarum atque inertium querelarum auctorque, quod viros quod Romanos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Fero-
5 cissimus quisque juvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera juvenus. Inde, pari præsidio relicto Collatiæ ad portas, custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto, Romam profecti. Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit armata
10 multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus, ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esserentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romæ tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiæ fecerat: ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, præco ad
15 tribunum Celerum—in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat—populum advocavit; ibi oratio habita, nequaquam ejus pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquini, de stupro infando Lucretiæ et miserabili cæde, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui
20 morte filiæ causa mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset; addita superbia ipsius regis miseriæque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhaustiendas demersæ; Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos; indigna Servii Tullii
25 regis memorata cædes, et invecta corpore patris nefandoque vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quæ præsens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subjicit, memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi
30 abrogaret exsulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinius cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse, junioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque, ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus: imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto,
35 relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, execrantibus, quacumque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

LX. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, quum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus—senserat enim adventum—ne obvius fieret, eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio 5 clausæ portæ exsiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis læta castra accipere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Cære in Etruscos ierunt. Sextus Tarquinius, Gabios, tamquam in suum regnum, profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatum, quas sibi 10 ipse cædibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romæ ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde u. c. comitiis centuriatis a præfecto urbis ex commen- 245. 15 tariis Servii Tullii creati sunt, L. Junius Brutus et A. C. L. Tarquinius Collatinus. 507.

LIBRI SECUNDI

CAP. I-X, XII, XIII, XXXIV-XL.

I. LIBERI jam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque
gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum po-
u. c. tentiora quam hominum, peragam. Quæ libertas
245. ut lætior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat: nam
5 A. C. priores ita regnarunt, ut haud immerito omnes
507. deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas
ipsi sedes ab se auctæ multitudinis addiderunt,
numerentur; neque ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui
tantum gloriæ Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico
10 id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturæ cupidine priorum
regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum
fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex
suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem
aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari
15 cœpta esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum
patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera conjugum
ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore
assuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatæ res
nondum adultæ discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla mo-
20 deratio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem
libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis
autem originem inde magis, quia annum imperium con-
sulare factum est, quam quod diminutum quidquam sit
ex regia potestate, numeres; omnia jura, omnia insignia
primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne, si ambo

fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novæ libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adegit, 5 neminem Romæ passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cædibus regis diminutum patrum numerum, primoribus equestris gradus electis, ad trecentorum summum explevit; traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui patres, 10 quique conscripti essent; conscriptos, videlicet, in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis, jungendosque patribus plebis animos.

II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura: et, quia 15 quædam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant; id sacerdotium pontifici subjecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cujus tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo 20 modum excesserint: consulis enim alterius, quum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit; nimium Tarquinius regno assuesse; initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum, tamquam alieni, regni Superbum Tarquinium, velut heredita- 25 tem gentis, scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso Superbo, penes Collatinum imperium esse; nescire Tarquinius privatos vivere; non placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. Hinc primo sensim tentantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Bru- 30 tus ad concionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum jusjurandum populi recitat, neminem regnare passuros nec esse Romæ, unde periculum libertati foret; id summa ope tuendum esse neque ullam rem, quæ eo pertineat, contemnendam; invitum se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum 35 fuisse, ni caritas rei publicæ vinceret; non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem recuperatam esse; re-

gium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate, sed etiam in imperio esse: id officere, id obstare libertati: "hunc tu," inquit, "tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum: meminimus, fatemur, ejecisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, 5 aufer hinc regium nomen; res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui, auctore me, sed, si quid deest, munifice augebunt; amicus abi; exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu; ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum." Consuli primo tam novæ rei ac subitæ adm-
10 ratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumstant, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus; postquam Spurius Lucretius, major ætate ac dignitate, socer præterea ipsius, agere varie, rogando alternis suadendoque, cœpit, ut vinci se
15 consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes
20 Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent: collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges ejecerat.

III. Quum haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ab Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ce-
25 terum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec hi tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, æquales sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniorum, assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum,
30 æquato jure omnium, licentiam quærentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur; regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit; esse gratiæ locum, esse beneficio: et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen
35 nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi, quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, si modum excesseris; periculosum esse in

tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita jam sua sponte ægris animis, legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione redditus, bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit; ne non reddita, belli causa, reddita belli materia et adjumentum esset. Interim legati alii alia moliri, aperte bona repetentes, clam recuperandi regni consilia struere; et tanquam ad id, quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertentant; a quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus colloquuntur.

IV. Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, jamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi Titus Tiberius- que. Eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi assumunt. Præterea aliquot et nobiles adolescentes conscii assumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim quum in senatu vicisset sententia, quæ censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam moræ in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum conjuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando, ut litteræ sibi ad Tarquinius darentur; nam aliter qui credituros eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis afferri? Datæ litteræ, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam quum, pridie quam legati ad Tarquinius proficiscentur, et cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, conjurati- que ibi, remotis arbitris, multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus exceptit, qui jam antea id senserat agi, sed eam occasionem, ut litteræ legatis darentur, quæ deprehensæ rem coarguere possent, exspectabat; postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque profecti domo, sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere; litterarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincula coniectis, de legatis paululum addu-

bitatum est, et, quamquam visi sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit.

V. De bonis regiis, quæ reddi ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad patres. Ibi victi ira vetuere reddi, vetuere
5 in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut, contacta regia præda, spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit. Forte ibi tum
10 seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi; quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim, tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis
15 caloribus solet; ita in vadis hæsitantis frumenti acervos sedisse illitos limo; insulam inde paulatim, et aliis, quæ fert temere flumen, eodem invecitis, factam; postea credo
additas moles, manuque adjutum, ut tam eminens area, firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum, damnati proditores, sumptumque
20 supplicium, conspectus eo, quod pænæ capiendæ ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et, qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes; sed
a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non pænæ magis
25 homines quam sceleris, quo pœnam meriti essent; illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, patres, plebem, quidquid
deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli, prode-
30 rent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium; nudatos virgis cædunt, securique feriunt, quum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os ejus spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pænæ ministerium. Secundum pœnam nocentium,
35 ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, præmium indici, pecunia ex ærario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam

vindictæ quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant: Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

VI. His, sicut acta erant, nuntiatis, incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantæ ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsæptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus, circumire supplex Etruriæ urbes, orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne se ortum ejusdem sanguinis extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno, cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos; se regem, augmentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata conjuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere, et persequi ingratos cives velle; ferrent opem, adjuvarent; suas quoque veteres injurias ultum irent, toties cæsas legiones, agrum ademptum. Hæc moverunt Veientes, ac pro se quisque, Romano saltem duce, ignominias demendas, bello que amissa repetenda, minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet; pulchrum videbatur suos Romæ regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatum exercitus, ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos, secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules eunt; Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit, Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit, præerat Arruns Tarquinius filius regis; rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Arruns, ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde jam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus ira, "ille est vir," inquit, "qui nos extorres expulit patria; ipse en ille, nostris decoratus insignibus, magnifice incedit; di regum ultores adeste." Concitat calcaribus equum, atque in ipsum infestus consulem dirigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus; decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus, avide

itaque se certamini offert; adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendī corporis memor, ut, contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus hærentes hastis, moribundi ex equis
5 lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna cœpit, neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria, et velut æquo Marte pugnatum est; dextera utrimque cornua vicere, læva superata; Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite assueti, fusi fugatique, Tarquiniensis novus hostis
10 non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

VII. Ita quum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut omissa irrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnae; silentio
15 proximæ noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; hæc dicta, uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie, vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani, ut victores, Etrusci pro victis; nam, postquam illuxit, nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat,
20 P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegæ funus, quanto tum potuit apparatu, fecit; sed multo majus morti decus publica fait mæstitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronæ annum, ut parentem, eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatæ pudicitiaë fuisset.

25 Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi, ex favore, non invidia modo, sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine, orta; regnum eum affectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti, et ædificabat in summa Velia, ubi alto atque munito
30 loco arcem inexpugnabilem fieri. Hæc dicta vulgo creditaque quum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo, submissis fascibus, in concionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, submissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factam
35 populi quam consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse. Ibi audire jussis, consul laudare fortunam collegæ, quod liberata patria in summo honore, pro republica dimicans,

matura gloria necdum se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset; se superstitem gloriæ suæ ad crimen atque invidiam superesse, ex liberatore patriæ ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidissee; “numquamne ergo,” inquit, “ulla adeo a vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari 5 nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subitum timerem? Ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse à civibus meis? Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides, ut, ubi 10 sim, quam qui sim, magis referat? Non obstabunt Publii Valerii ædes libertati vestræ, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia; deferam non in planum modo ædes sed colli etiam subijciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis; in Velia ædificent, quibus melius, quam P. Valerio, creditur 15 libertas.” Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi nunc Vicæ Potæ est, domus in infimo clivo ædificata.

VIII. Latæ deinde leges, non solum quæ regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quæ adeo in contrarium verterent, ut popularem etiam facerent; inde cognomen 20 factum Publicolæ est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite ejus, qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratæ in vulgus leges fuere. Quas quum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegæ sub- 25 rogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu, non sufficientibus jam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur; suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem; Bruto statim 30 Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoria intercidisse. Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Jovis ædes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit: Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus. Ægrius, quam 35 dignum erat, tulere Valerii necessarii, dedicationem tam inelyti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire

conati, postquam alia frustra tentata erant, postem jam tenenti consuli fœdum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiant, mortuum ejus filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare eum templum non posse. Non crediderit factum, 5 an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis; nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus, quam ut cadaver efferri juberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum. Hæc post exactos reges domi militiæque gesta primo anno; 10 inde P. Valerius iterum, T. Lucretius consules facti.

IX. Jam Tarquinius ad Lartem Porsinam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi, miscendo consilium precesque, nunc orabant, ne se oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur, nunc mone- 15 bant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret; satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis: nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, æquari summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem 20 regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimæ. Porsina, quum regem esse Romæ, tum Etruscæ gentis regem, amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non umquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit, adeo valida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsinæ nomen. 25 Nec hostes modo timebant sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs, metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data; annonæ in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in 30 Volscos alii Cumas; salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumptu, ademptum privatis; portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent; pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educant. Itaque hæc indulgen- 35 tia patrum, asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame, adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus

malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

X. Quum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam sæpiunt præsiidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi objecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius 5 iter pæne hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset Horatius Cocles; id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanæ habuit; qui positus forte in statione pontis, quum captum repentino impetu Janiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordines- 10 que relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque deum et hominum fidem, testabatur, nequidquam deserto præsidio eos fugere; si transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, jam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Janiculo fore. Itaque monere, prædicere, ut pontem 15 ferro igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant; se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis cominus ad ineundum prælium armis, ipso miraculo audaciæ ob- 20 stupefecit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat, parumper sustinuit; deinde eos quoque ipsos, exigua parte pontis relictâ, revocantibus qui rescin- 25 debant, cedere in tutum coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad procures Etruscorum, nunc singulos provocare nunc increpare omnes, servitia regum superborum, suæ libertatis immemores, alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut 30 prælium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela conjiciunt. Quæ quum in objecto cuncta scuto hæsisent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, jam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, quum simul 35 fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit.

Tum Cocles, "Tiberine pater," inquit, "te, sancte, precor, hæc arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias." Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis, incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famæ
5 habituram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit; statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant; nam in magna inopia, pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se
10 ipse victu suo, contulit.

XII. Obsidio erat nihilominus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia; sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsina habebat, quum C. Mucius, adolescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur, populum Romanum servientem, quum
15 sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum sæpe exercitus fuderit,—itaque, magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra con-
20 stituit; dein metuens, ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen affirmante, senatum adit; "transire Tiberim," inquit, "patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non prædo
25 nec populationum in vicem ultor; majus, si dii juvant, in animo est facinus." Approbant patres; abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi quum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens
30 pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eum milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsina esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat
35 viam, quum, concursu ad clamorem facto, comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quoque, inter tantas fortunæ minas, metuendus

magis quam metuens, "Romanus sum," inquit, "civis, C. Mucium vocant; hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad cædem; et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus; 5 proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo; ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiæ; hoc tibi Juventus Romana indicimus bellum; nullam aciem, nullum praelium timueris, uni tibi et cum singulis res erit." Quum rex, simul ira infensus 10 periculoque conterritus, circumdari ignes minitabundus juberet, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages jaceret: "en tibi," inquit, "ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit his, qui magnam gloriam vident;" dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam 15 quum velut alienato ab sensuorreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex, quum ab sede sua prosiluisset amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset, "Tu vero abi," inquit, "in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. Juberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret; nunc jure 20 belli liberum te intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto." Tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum, "quando quidem," inquit, "est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minis nequisti, trecenti conjuravimus principes juventutis Romanæ, ut in te hac via grassaremur: mea prima 25 sors fuit; ceteri, utcumque ceciderit primi, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt."

XIII. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scævola a clade dextræ manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsina Romam secuti sunt; adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, 30 quo nihil se præter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio toties, quot conjurati superessent, ut pacis conditiones ultro ferret Romanis. Jactatum in conditionibus nequidquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quam 35 quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret; de agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas

obsides dandi Romanis, si Janiculo præsidium deduci
 vellent. His conditionibus composita pace, exercitum ab
 Janiculo deduxit Porsina, et agro Romano excessit. Pa-
 tres C. Mucio, virtutis causa, trans Tiberim agrum dono
 5 dedere, quæ postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo, ita
 honorata virtute, feminæ quoque ad publica decora exci-
 tatae; et Clælia virgo, una ex obsidibus, quum castra Etrus-
 corum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, fru-
 strata custodes, dux agminis virginum, inter tela hostium
 10 Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos
 restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus
 ira, oratores Romam misit ad Clæliam obsidem deposcen-
 dam; alias haud magni facere; deinde in admirationem
 versus, supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et
 15 præ se ferre, quemadmodum, si non dedatur obses, pro
 rupto fœdus se habiturum, sic deditam inviolatamque ad
 suos remissurum. Utrimque constitit fides; et Romani
 pignus pacis ex fœdere restituerunt, et apud regem Etrus-
 cum non tuta solum, sed honorata etiam virtus fuit; lau-
 20 datamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit, ipsa,
 quos vellet, legeret. Productis omnibus, elegisse impubes
 dicitur, quod virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum
 ipsorum probabile erat, eam ætatem potissimum liberari
 ab hoste, quæ maxime opportuna injuriæ esset. Pace
 25 redintegrata, Romani novam in femina virtutem novo inde
 genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere; in summa Sacra
 via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

XXXIV. M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consuli-
 bus, magna vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta, agitatumque
 30 in senatu, quanti plebi daretur. Multi venisse tempus
 premendæ plebis putabant recuperandique jura, quæ ex-
 torta secessione ac vi patribus essent; in primis Marcius
 Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciæ potestatis; “si annonam,”
 inquit, “veterem volunt, jus pristinum reddant patribus.
 35 Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video,
 sub jugum missus, tamquam ab latronibus redemptus?
 Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est?

Tarquinius regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? Se-
cedat nunc, avocet plebem. Patet via in Sacrum montem
altiosque colles. Rapiant frumenta ex agris nostris, quem-
admodum tertio anno rapuere: fruuntur annona, quam
furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere, hoc malo domitos, ipsos 5
potius cultores agrorum fore, quam ut armati per seces-
sionem coli prohibeant." Haud tam facile dictu est,
faciendumne fuerit, quam potuisse arbitror fieri, ut condi-
tionibus laxandi annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et
omnia invitis jura imposita patres demerent sibi. 10

XXXV. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et
plebem ira prope armavit; fame se jam sicut hostes peti,
cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quæ sola
alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi
Cn. Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis 15
Romanæ satisfiat; eum sibi carnificem novum exortum,
qui aut mori aut servire jubeat. In exeuntem e curia im-
petus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent.
Ibi ira est suppressa; se judicem quisque, se dominum
vitæ necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primo 20
Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias; auxilii non pœnæ jus
datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse.
Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius pœna defun-
gendum esset patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia
usque sunt, qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis viribus; 25
ac primo tentata res est, si dispositis clientibus abster-
rendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disjicere rem
possent; universi deinde processere, quidquid erat patrum
reos diceres, precibus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi
civem unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, 30
pro nocente donarent. Ipse quum die dicta non adesset,
perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in Volscos
exsulatum abiit, minitans patriæ hostilesque jam tum
spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benigni excepere,
benigniusque in dies colebant, quo major ira in suos emine- 35
bat, crebræque nunc querelæ nunc minæ percipiebantur.
Hospitio utebatur Attii Tullii; longe is tum princeps

Volsci nominis erat Romanisque semper infestus; ita, quum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facile credebant plebem suam impelli posse, ut toties infeliciter tentata
 5 arma caperent; multis sæpe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa juventute, fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto jam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

XXXVI. Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romæ
 10 parabantur. Instaurandi hæc causa fuerat; ludis mane servum quidam pater familiæ, nondum commisso spectaculo, sub furca cæsum medio egerat circo. Cæpti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post, Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium
 15 fuit. Visus Jupiter dicere, sibi ludis præsulatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen majestatis magistratuum timorem vicit, ne in ora hominum pro
 20 ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit, filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cujus repentinæ eladis ne causa dubia esset, ægro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin' magnam spreiti numinis haberet mercedem; majorem instare, ni eat pro
 25 pere ac nuntiet consulibus. Jam præsentior res erat. Cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enim vero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis præteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito, quum visa atque audita, et
 30 obversatum toties somno Jovem, minas irasque cælestes repræsentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubie omnium, qui aderant, in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in curiam jussu consulum delatus, eadem illa quum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset,
 35 ecce aliud miraculum; qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse, traditum memoriæ est.

XXXVII. Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos, auctore Attio Tullio, vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit, dicit esse, quæ secreto agere de republica velit. 5 Arbitris remotis, "invitus," inquit, "quod sequius sit, de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quidquam ab his criminatum venio sed cautum, ne admittant. Nimio plus, quam velim, nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito sed 10 vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est. Ludi sunt. Spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini, quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum juventute in hac urbe commissum sit. Horret animus, ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. Hæc nostra 15 vestraque causa prius dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cujus facti dictive contagione præsens violer." Hæc locutus abiit. Consules quum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam 20 res ad præcavendum vel ex supervacuo movit, factoque senatus consulto, ut urbem excederent Volsci, præcones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem juberent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia percudit; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, 25 se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, cœtu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

XXXVIII. Quum prope continuato agmine irent, prægressus Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque eveniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos 30 ipsos sedulo audientes secunda iræ verba, et per eos multitudinem aliam in subjectum viæ campum deduxit. Ibi in concionis modum orationem exorsus, "veteres populi Romani injurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia," inquit, "obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam 35 quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie

de vobis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse, vestras conjuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos, qui audivere vocem præconis, quid, qui nos videre
5 abeuntes, quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii, existimasse putatis, nisi aliquid profecto nefas esse: quod, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri, ideo nos ab sede piorum cœtu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde illud non succurrit vivere nos,
10 quod maturarimus proficisci? si hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi, si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est magno eorum malo, qui indixere, si viri estis.” Ita, et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati,
15 domos inde digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos efficere, ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

XXXIX. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum: quam
20 spem nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret, ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios profectus, primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit; inde in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus, Satricum, Longulam,
25 Poluscam, Coriolos, Bovillas; hæc Romanis oppida ademit; inde Lavinium recipit, tum deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebium, Labicos, Pedum cepit: postremum ad urbem a Peto ducit, et ad fossas Cluiliæ, quinque ab urbe millia passuum, castris positis, populatur inde agrum Ro-
30 manum, custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quæ profecto orta esset, adeo tribuni jam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant; sed
35 externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se jungebat animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consulesque nusquam alibi

spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius jam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos recensentes legiones, præsidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes vigiliisque esse placuerat, loca distribu-
 entes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum sedi- 5
 tioso clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn. Marcium mittendis coegit. Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum retulerunt; si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace; 10
 si præda belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium injuriæ, et hospitem beneficii adniscum ut appareat, exsilio sibi irritatos non fractos animos esse. Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos, isse supplices ad castra 15
 hostium, traditum est; nihilo magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

XL. Tum matronæ ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem, frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio; pervi- 20
 cere certe, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios, secum in castra hostium irent; et, quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est nuntiatumque Coriolano est, adesse ingens 25
 mulierum agmen, in primo, ut qui nec publica majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstinatio adversus lacrimas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem mæstitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam inter nurum 30
 nepotesque stantem, "nisi me frustrantur," inquit, "oculi, mater tibi conjuxque et liberi adsunt." Coriolanus, prope ut amens consternatus, ab sede sua quum ferret matri obviæ complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa, "sine priusquam complexum accipio, sciam," inquit, "ad ho- 35
 stem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut

exsulem te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram, quæ te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, quum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit,"

5 intra illa mœnia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, conjux, liberique? "Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua essem; sed ego nihil jam pati, nec tibi turpius quam mihi miserius, possum, nec, ut sum miserrima, diu

10 futura sum; de his videris, quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet." Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi, fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus, et complexio sui patriæque, fregere tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit, et ipse retro ab urbe castra movit.

15 Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt, alii alio leto; apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio; refert certe, hanc sæpe eum exacta ætate usurpasse vocem, multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non

20 inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani; adeo sine obtreptione gloriæ alienæ vivebatur; monumento quoque quod esset, templum Fortunæ muliebri ædificatum dedicatumque est.

LIBRI TERTII

CAP. XLIV-LIX.

XLIV. SEQUITUR aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minus fædo eventu, quam quod per stuprum cædemque Lucretiæ urbe regnoque Tarquinius expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiæ stuprandæ libido cepit. Pater virginis L. Virginius honestum ordinem in Alcido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiæque; perinde uxor instituta fuerat liberique instituebantur: desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri, et pro causa plebis expertæ virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam, forma excellentem, Appius amore ardens pretio ac spe pellicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore sæpta animadverterat, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servitum assereret, neque cederet secundum libertatem postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellæ abesset, locum injuriæ esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum—ibi namque in tabernis litterarum ludi erant—minister decemviri libidinis manum injecit, serva sua natam servamque appellans sequi se jubebat; cunctantem vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente, ad clamorem nutricis, fidem Quiritium implorantis, fit concursus: Virginii patris sponsique Icilio populare nomen celebrabatur: notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini conciliat. Jam a vi tuta erat, quum

assertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitata ait, se jure grassari non vi; vocat puellam in jus, auctoribus, qui aderant, ut sequeretur. Ad tribunal Appii perventum est. Notam judici fabulam petitor—quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti—peragit: puellam domi suæ natam, furtoque inde in domum Virginii translatam, suppositam ei esse; id se indicio compertum afferre probaturumque vel ipso Virginio judice, ad quem major pars injuriæ ejus pertineat: interim dominum sequi ancillam æquum esse.

10 Advocati puellæ, quum Virginium rei publicæ causa dixissent abesse, biduo affuturum si nuntiatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare, postulant, ut rem integram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias det secundum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famæ prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

XLV. Appius decreto præfatus, quam libertati faverit, eam ipsam legem declarare, quam Virginii amici postulationi suæ prætendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum libertati fore præsidium, si nec causis nec personis variet: in his

20 enim, qui asserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege agere possit, id juris esse; in ea, quæ in patris manu sit, neminem esse alium, cui dominus possessione cedat; placere itaque patrem arcessiri; interea juris sui jacturam assertorem non facere, quin ducat puellam sistendamque in adventum ejus, qui pater dicatur, promittat. Adversus injuriam decreti quum multi magis fremerent, quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius puellæ avunculus et sponsus Icilius interveniunt; dataque inter turbam via, quum multitudo Icili maxime interventu resisti posse

30 Appio crederet, lictor decresse ait, vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox injuria accendisset:—"ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi," inquit, "ut tacitum feras quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus nuptamque pudicam habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque lictores convoca, expediri virgas et secures jube: non manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non, si tribunicium auxilium et provocatio-

nem plebi Romanæ—duas arces libertatis tuendæ—ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros conjugesque regnum vestræ libidini datum est. Sævite in tergum et in cervices nostras: pudicitia saltem in tuto sit. Huic si vis affertur, ego præsentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Virginius mili- 5 tum pro unica filia, omnes deorum hominumque implorabimus fidem, neque tu istud unquam decretum sine cæde nostra referes. Postulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres, quo progrediare. Virginius viderit de filia, ubi venerit, quid agat; hoc tantum sciat, sibi, si hujus vindictiis 10 cesserit, conditionem filiæ quærendam esse; me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita citius deseret quam fides.”

XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat, certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra minas tamen processum est, quum Appius, non Virginiam 15 defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem, locum seditionis quærere, diceret: non præbiturum se illi eo die materiam: sed ut jam sciret, non id petulantiae suæ sed Virginio absenti et patrio nomini et libertati datum, jus eo die se non dicturum neque decre- 20 tum interpositurum; a M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet jure suo vindicarique puellam in posterum diem pateretur; quod nisi pater postero die affuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque Icili, neque legi suæ latorem neque decemviro constantiam defore; nec se utique collegarum 25 lictores convocaturum ad coercendos seditionis auctores, contentum se suis lictoribus fore. Quum dilatum tempus injuriæ esset secessissentque advocati puellæ, placuit omnium primum, fratrem Icili filiumque Numitorii, impigros juvenes, pergere inde recta ad portam et, quantum 30 accelerari posset, Virginium acciri e castris; in eo verti puellæ salutem, si postero die vindex injuriæ ad tempus præsto esset. Jussi pergunt, citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem perferunt. Quum instaret assertor puellæ, ut vindicaret sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret 35 Icilius, sedulo tempus terens, dum præciperent iter nuntii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se

quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus, "gratum est," inquit, "crastina die vestra opera utar, sponsorum nunc satis est." Ita vindicatur Virginia spondentibus propinquis. Appius paulisper
5 moratus, ne ejus rei causa sedisse videretur, postquam omissis rebus aliis præ cura unius nemo adibat, domum se recepit collegisque in castra scribit, ne Virginio commeatum dent atque etiam in custodia habeant. Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit, et jam commeatu sumpto pro-
10 fectus Virginus prima vigilia erat, quum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequidquam litteræ redduntur.

XLVII. At in urbe, prima luce, quum civitas in foro expectatione erecta staret, Virginus sordidatus filiam secum obsoleta veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum
15 ingenti advocatione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et prensare homines cœpit, et non orare solum precariam opem sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac conjugibus quotidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse, cujus strenue ac ferociter facta in bello plura memorari possent;
20 —quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quæ capta ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Hæc prope concionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab Icilio jactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quæ omnia obstinato animo
25 Appius—tanta vis amentię verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat—in tribunal escendit, et ultro querente pauca petitor, quod sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret aut Virginio respondendi daretur locus, Appius interfatur. Quem de-
30 creto sermonem prætenderit, forsitan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint: quia nusquam ullum in tanta fœditate decreti veri similem invenio, id quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum, decresse vindicias secundum servitutem. Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei
35 tam atrocis defixit, silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein, quum M. Claudius, circumstantibus matronis, iret adprehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum

comploratio exceperisset, Virginius intentans in Appium manus, "Icilio," inquit, "Appi, non tibi filiam despondi, et ad nuptias non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promiscue in concubitus ruere? Passurine hæc isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos 5 qui arma habent." Quum repelleretur assertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per præconem.

XLVIII. Decemvir, alienatus ad libidinem animo, negat ex hesterno tantum convicio Icili violentiaque Vir- 10 ginii, cujus testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis compertum se habere, nocte tota cœtus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. Itaque se haud inscium ejus dimicationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis 15 otium pro majestate imperii coerceret: "proinde quiesce erit melius," inquit; "lictor, submove turbam, et da viam domino adprehendendum mancipium." Quum hæc intenuisset plenus iræ, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit, desertaque præda injuriæ puella stabat. Tum Virginius, 20 ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, "quæso," inquit, "Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quid inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc rei sit, ut, si falso pater dictus sum, æquiore hinc animo discedam." Data venia, seducit filiam 25 ac nutricem prope Cloacinæ ad tabernas, quibus nunc novis est nomen, atque ibi ab lanio cultro arrepto, "hoc te uno quo possum," ait, "modo, filia, in libertatem vindico;" pectus deinde puellæ transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal, "te," inquit, "Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc 30 consecro." Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius comprehendi Virginium jubet. Ille ferro, quacumque ibat, viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsanguie corpus sublatum ostendant populo: scelus Appii, 35 puellæ infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronæ, eamne liberorum procrean-

dorum conditionem, ea pudicitiae præmia esse? cetera, quæ in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est mæstior imbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus subjicit. Viro-
rum, et maxime Iciliï vox tota tribuniciae potestatis ac
5 provocationis ad populum ereptae publicarumque indignationum, erat.

XLIX. Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium nunc retractantem arripi, postremo,
10 quum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum juvenum per turbam vadens in vincula duci jubet. Jam circa Icilium non solum multitudo, sed duces quoque multitudinis erant L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lictore, si jure ageret, vindicare se a pri-
15 vato Icilium aiebant, si vim afferre conarentur, ibi quoque haud impares fore. Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit: franguntur a multitudo fascēs. In concionem Appius escendit; sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque; eos concio audit, decemviro obstre-
20 pitur. Jam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores jubebat, quum, fractis animis, Appius, vitae metuens, in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto, recipit. Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte irrumpit; videt imperium vi victum;
25 agitatus deinde consiliis—atque ex omni parte assentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat—senatum postremo vocari jussit. Ea res, quod magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis ejus multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem
30 irritandam censuit, et multo magis providendum, ne quid Virginii adventus in exercitu motus faceret.

L. Itaque missi juniores patrum in castra, quæ tum in monte Vecilio erant, nuntiant decemviris, ut omni ope ab seditione milites contineant. Ibi Virginius majorem, quam
35 reliquerat in urbe, motum excivit; nam, præterquam quod agmine prope quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, con-

spectus est, strictum etiam telum, respersusque ipse cruore, tota in se castra convertit; et togæ, multifariam in castris visæ, majoris aliquanto, quam erat, speciem urbanæ multitudinis fecerant. Quærentibus, quid rei esset, flens diu vocem non misit; tandem, ut jam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta ut gesta erant exposuit; supinas deinde tendens manus commilitones appellans orabat, ne, quod scelus Appii Claudii esset, sibi attribuerent, neu se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur; sibi vitam filiæ suæ cariorem fuisse, si libere ac pudice vivere licitum fuisset; quum velut servam ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum quam contumelia liberos, misericordia se in speciem crudelitatis lapsum; nec se superstitem filiæ futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendæ mortis ejus in auxilio commilitonum habuisset; illis quoque enim filias sorores conjugesque esse, nec cum filia sua libidinem Appii Claudii extinctam esse: sed, quo impunitior sit, eo effrenatiorem fore; aliena calamitate documentum datum illis cavendæ similis injuriæ. Quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam, filiam, quia non ultra pudica victura fuerit, miseram sed honestam mortem occubuisse; non esse jam Appii libidini locum in domo sua; ab alia violentia ejus eodem se animo suum corpus vindicaturum, quo vindicaverit filiæ: ceteri sibi ac liberis consulerent. Hæc Virginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo, nec illius dolori, nec suæ libertati se defuturos. Et immixti turbæ militum togati, quum eadem illa querendo docendoque, quanto visa quam audita indigniora potuerint videri, simul profligatam jam rem nuntiando Romæ esse, insecutisque qui Appium prope interemptum in exilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt, ut ad arma conclamaretur, vellerentque signa, et Romam proficiscerentur. Decemviri, simul his quæ videbant, iisque quæ acta Romæ audierant, perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrunt. Et leniter agentibus responsum non redditur; imperium si quis inhiheret, et viros et armatos se esse, respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbem, et

Aventinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat, plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes. Alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet. Nihil placet asperere agi, quippe ab ipsis
 5 datum locum seditionis esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, P. Sulpicius, qui quærerent senatus verbis, cujus jussu castra deseruissent, aut quid sibi vellent, qui armati Aventinum obsedissent, belloque averso ab hostibus patriam suam cepissent. Non defuit
 10 quid responderetur, deerat qui daret responsum, nullo dum certq̃ duce, nec satis audentibus singulis invidiæ se offerre. Id modo a multitudine conclamatum est, ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent, iis se daturus responsum.

15 LL. Dimissis legatis admonet milites Virginus, in re non maxima paulo ante trepidatum esse, quia sine capite multitudo fuerint, responsumque, quamquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quam communi consilio esse; placere decem creari, qui summæ rei præessent,
 20 militarique honore tribunos militum appellare. Quum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, "melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate," inquit, "ista de me judicia; nec mihi filia inulta honorem ullum jucundum esse patitur, nec in perturbata republica eos utile est præesse vobis,
 25 qui proximi invidiæ sint; si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex privato capietur." Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant. Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus; ibi quoque, auctore Icilio Numitorioque, secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu animorum Siccii cædis memo-
 30 ria renovata, quam quem nova fama de virgine adeo fœde ad libidinem petita accenderat. Icilius, ubi audivit tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitorum militarium prærogativam urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium, imminensque
 35 ei potestati, et ipse, priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Porta Collina urbem intravere sub signis, mediaque urbe agmine

in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi, conjuncti alteri exercitui, viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summæ rerum præessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant. Patres solliciti de summa rerum, quum senatus quotidie esset, jurgiis sæpius terunt 5 tempus quam consiliis: Siccii cædes decemviris, et Appiana libido, et dedecora militiæ objiciebantur; placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus ejus, quo anno jam ante abissent. Decem- 10 viri, querentes se in ordinem cogi, non ante quam perlatis legibus, quarum causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.

LII. Per M. Duellium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs, contentionibus assiduis nihil transigi, in 15 Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, affirmante Duellio, non prius, quam deserì urbem videant, curam in animos patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiæ plebis, sciturosque, quam sine restituta potestate redigi in concordiam res nequeant. Via Nomentana—cui 20 tum Ficulensi nomen fuit—profecti, castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo, qui per ætatem ire posset, retractante; prosequuntur conjuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe, in qua nec pudicitia 25 nec libertas sancta esset, miserabiliter rogitantes. Quum vasta Romæ omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro præter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in senatum patribus desertum apparuisset forum, pluresque jam quam Horatius ac Valerius vociferarentur: “quid expectabi- 30 tis, patres conscripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciæ non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis? quod autem istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tectis ac parietibus jura dicturi estis? non pudet, lictorum vestrorum majorem prope numerum in foro con- 35 spici quam togatorum aliorumque? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi estis? Quid, si plebs mox, ubi

parum secessione moveatur, armata veniat? Occasione
urbis vultis finire imperium? Atqui aut plebs non est
habenda, aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis: nos citius caru-
erimus patriciis magistratibus quam illi plebeiis: novam
5 in expertamque eam potestatem eripere patribus nostris,
ne nunc, dulcedine semel capti, ferant desiderium, quum
præsertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi
auxilii egeant:" quum hæc ex omni parte jactarentur,
victi consensu decemviri, futuros se—quando ita videatur—
10 in potestate patrum affirmant. Id modo simul orant ac
monent, ut ipsis ab invidia caveatur, nec suo sanguine ad
supplicia patrum plebem assuefaciant.

LIII. Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem con-
ditionibus quibus videretur revocandam componendasque
15 res, decemviris quoque ab ira et impetu multitudinis præ-
cavere jubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis in castra
accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubie et motus initio
et exitu rei. Ob hæc his advenientibus gratiæ actæ. Icilius
pro multitudine verba facit: idem, quum de conditionibus
20 ageretur, quærentibus legatis quæ postulata plebis essent,
composito jam ante adventum legatorum consilio, ea postu-
lavit, ut appareret in æquitate rerum plus quam in armis
reponi spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationem-
que repetebant, quæ ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis
25 fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset conceisse milites aut plebem
ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem. De decemvi-
rorum modo supplicio atrox postulatum fuit; dedi quippe
eos æquum censebant, vivosque igni concrematuros mina-
bantur. Legati ad ea: "quæ consilii fuerunt, adeo æqua
30 postulastis, ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; libertati enim
ea præsidia petitis, non licentiæ ad impugnandos alios;
iræ vestræ magis ignoscendum quam indulgendum est,
quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis, et prius
pæne, quam ipsi liberi sitis, dominari jam in adversarios
35 vultis. Numquamne quiescit civitas nostra a suppliciis,
aut patrum in plebem Romanam aut plebis in patres?
Scuto vobis magis quam gladio opus est; satis superque

humilis est, qui jure æquo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo injuriam nec patiendo; etiam, si quando metuosos vos præbituri estis, quum, recuperatis magistratibus legibusque vestris, judicia penes vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc, ut quæque causa erit, statuetis; nunc libertatem 5 repeti satis est."

LIV. Facerent, ut vellent, permittentibus cunctis, mox redituros se legati rebus perfectis affirmant. Profecti quum mandata plebis patribus exposuissent, alii decemviri, quando quidem præter spem ipsorum supplicii sui nulla mentio 10 fieret, haud quidquam abnuere; Appius truci ingenio et invidia præcipua, odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens, odio, "haud ignaro," inquit "imminet fortuna; video, donec arma adversariis tradantur, differri adversus nos certamen; dandus invidiæ est sanguis; nihil ne ego quidem moror, quo minus decemviratu abeam." Factum 15 senatus consultum, ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu abdicarent, Q. Furius pontifex maximus tribunos plebis crearet, et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque. His senatus consultis perfectis, dimisso senatu, 20 decemviri prodeunt in concionem abdicantque se magistratu, ingenti hominum lætitia. Nuntiantur hæc plebi. Legatos quidquid in urbe hominum supererat prosequitur. Huic multitudini læta alia turba ex castris occurrit; congratulantur libertatem concordiamque civitati restitutam. 25 Legati pro concione: "quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit vobis, rei que publicæ, redite in patriam ad penates conjuges liberosque vestros. Sed, qua hic modestia fuistis, ubi nullius ager in tot rerum usu necessario tantæ multitudini est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in urbem. In 30 Aventinum ite, unde profecti estis; ibi felici loco, ubi prima initia inchoastis libertatis vestræ, tribunos plebi creabitis; præsto erit pontifex maximus, qui comitia habeat." Ingens assensus alacritasque cuncta approbantium fuit. Convellunt inde signa, profectique Romam, 35 certant cum obviis gaudio. Armati per urbem silentio in Aventinum perveniunt. Ibi extemplo pontifice maximo

comitia habente, tribunos plebis creaverunt, omnium primum L. Virginium, inde L. Icilium et P. Numitorium avunculum Virginiae, auctores secessionis, tum C. Sicinium, progeniem ejus, quem primum tribunum plebis creatum in
5 Sacro monte proditum memoriae est, et M. Duellium, qui tribunatum insignem ante decemviros creatos gesserat, nec in decemviralibus certaminibus plebi defuerat; spe deinde, magis quam meritis, electi M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius. Tribunatu inito, Lucius
10 Icilius extemplo plebem rogavit, et plebs scivit, ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab decemviris facta. Confestim de consulibus creandis cum provocatione Marcus Duellius rogationem pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis concilio plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant.

15 LV. Per interregem deinde consules creati, L. Valerius, M. Horatius, qui extemplo magistratum ceceperunt; quorum consulatus popularis sine ulla pa-
u. c. trum injuria, nec sine offensione fuit; quidquid
306. A. C. enim libertati plebis caveretur, id suis decedere
20 446. opibus credebant. Omnium primum, quum velut in controverso jure esset, tenerentur patres plebi-
scitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere, ut, quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum teneret; qua lege tribuniciis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Aliam deinde
25 consularem legem de provocatione—unicum praesidium libertatis—decemvirali potestate eversam, non restituunt modo, sed etiam in posterum muniunt, sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet: qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea
30 caedes capitalis noxae haberetur. Et quum plebem hinc provocatione hinc tribunicio auxilio satis firmassent, ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti viderentur—cujus rei prope jam memoria aboleverat—relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo caerimoniis renovarunt; et quum religione
35 inviolatos eos, tum lege etiam fecerunt, sanciendo ut, qui tribunis plebis, aedilibus, judicibus, decemviris nocuisset, ejus caput Jovi sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Cereris,

Liberi, Liberæque venum iret. Hac lege juris interpretes negant quemquam sacrosanctum esse, sed eum, qui quid eorum cuiquam nocuerit, sacrum sancira: itaque ædilem prehendi ducique a majoribus magistratibus, quod etsi non jure fiat—noceri enim ei, cui hac lege non liceat 5 —tamen argumentum esse non haberi pro sacrosancto ædilem; tribunos vetere jurejurando plebis, quum primum eam potestatem creavit, sacrosanctos esse. Fuere qui interpretarentur, eadem hac Horatia lege consulibus quoque et prætoribus, quia eisdem auspiciis quibus consules 10 crearentur, cautum esse; judicem enim consulem appellari. Quæ refellitur interpretatio, quod iis temporibus nondum consulem judicem sed prætorem appellari mos fuerat. Hæ consulares leges fuere. Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus, ut senatus consulta in ædem Cereris 15 ad ædiles plebis deferrentur, quæ antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque. M. Duellius deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit, plebesque scivit, qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur. Hæc omnia ut 20 invitis, ita non adversantibus, patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum sæviebatur.

LVI. Fundata deinde et potestate tribunicia, et plebis libertate, tum tribuni, aggredi singulos tutum maturumque jam rati, accusatorem primum Virginium et Appium reum 25 deligunt. Quum diem Appio Virginio dixisset, et Appius, stipatus patriciis juvenibus, in forum descendisset, redintegrata extemplo est omnibus memoria fœdissimæ potestatis, quum ipsum satellitesque ejus vidissent. Tum Virginus, “oratio,” inquit, “rebus dubiis inventa est: itaque 30 neque ego accusando apud vos eum tempus teram, a cujus crudelitate vosmet ipsi armis vindicastis, nec istum ad cetera scelera impudentiam in defendendo se adjicere patiar. Omnium igitur tibi, Appi Claudii, quæ impie nefarieque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, gratiam 35 facio; unius tantum criminis, nisi judicem dices te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindicias non dedisse,

in vincula te duci jubebo.” Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius, nec in judicio populi ullam spem habebat; attamen et tribunos appellavit, et, nullo morante arreptus a viatore, provocho,” inquit. Audita vox una vindex libertatis ex eo missa ore, quo vindiciæ nuper ab libertate dictæ erant, silentium fecit; et dum pro se quisque, deos tandem esse, et non negligere humana, fremunt, et superbiæ crudelitæque etsi seras non leves tamen venire pœnas, provocare, qui provocationem sustulisset, et implorare præsidium populi, qui omnia jura populi obtrisset, rapique in vincula egentem jure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset,—ipsius Appii inter concionis murmur fidem populi Romani implorantis vox exaudiebatur. Majorum merita in rempublicam domi militiæque commorabat, suum infelix erga plebem Romanam studium, quo æquandarum legum causa cum maxima offensione patrum consulatu abisset, suas leges, quibus manentibus lator earum in vincula ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque, quum causæ dicendæ data facultas sit, tum se experturum; in præsentia se communi jure civitatis civem Romanum die dicta postulare, ut dicere liceat, ut judicium populi Romani experiri. Non ita se invidiam pertimuisse, ut nihil in æquitate et misericordia civium suorum spei habeat. Quod si indicta causa in vincula ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare et monere, ne imitentur quos oderint. Quod si tribuni eodem fœdere obligatos se fateantur tollendæ appellationis causa, in quam conspirasse decemviros criminati sint, at se provocare ad populum, implorare leges de provocatione, et consulares, et tribunicias eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si hoc indemnato indicta causa non liceat? Cui plebeio et humili præsidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio non sit? Se documento futurum, utrum novis legibus dominatio an libertas firmata sit, et appellatio provocatioque adversus injuriam magistratuum ostentata tantum inanibus litteris, an vere data sit.

LVII. Contra ea Virginius unum Ap. Claudium et

legum expertem et civilis et humani fœderis esse aiebat. Respicerent tribunal homines castellum omnium scelerum, ubi decemvir ille perpetuus, bonis, tergo, sanguini civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus minitans, deorum hominumque contemptor, carnificibus non lictoribus stipatus, jam ab rapinis et cædibus animo ad libidinem verso, virginem ingenuam in oculis populi Romani, velut bello captam, ab complexu patris abreptam, ministro cubiculi sui clienti dono dederit, ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque vindictis dextram patris in filiam armaverit, ubi tollentes corpus semianime virginis sponsum avunculumque in carcerem duci jusserit, stupro interpellato magis quam cæde motus. Et illi carcerem ædificatum esse, quod domicilium plebis Romanæ vocare sit solitus. Proinde, ut ille iterum ac sæpius provocet, sic se iterum ac sæpius 15 judicem illi ferre, ni vindicias ab libertate in servitatem dederit. Si ad judicem non eat, pro damnato in vincula duci jubere. Ut haud quoquam improbante, sic magno motu animorum, quum tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi jam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem est coniectus. 20 Tribunus ei diem prodixit.

Inter hæc ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum de concordia patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt, donumque ob eam Jovi optimo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulere parvi ponderis, prout res haud opulentæ erant, 25 colebanturque religiones pie magis quam magnifice. Iisdem auctoribus cognitum est, Æquos Volscosque summa vi bellum apparare. Itaque partiiri provincias consules jussi: Horatio Sabini, Valerio Æqui evenere. Quum ad ea bella delectum edixissent, favore plebis non juniores 30 modo, sed emeritis etiam stipendiis, pars magna voluntariorum ad nomina danda præsto fuere, eoque non copia modo, sed genere etiam militum, veteranis admixtis, firmior exercitus fuit. Priusquam urbem egrederentur, leges decemvirales—quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen—in æs 35 incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt, qui jussu tribunorum ædiles functos eo ministerio scribant.

LVIII. C. Claudius, qui perosus decemvirorum scelera et ante omnes fratris filii superbiæ infestus, Regillum, antiquam in patriam, se contulerat, is magno jam natu quum ad pericula ejus deprecanda redisset, cujus vitia
5 fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus clientibusque in foro prensabat singulos orabatque, ne Claudiae genti eam inustam maculam vellent, ut carcere et vinculis viderentur digni: virum honoratissimæ imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem conditoremque Romani juris, jacere vincum inter fures nocturnos ac latrones! Averterent ab ira parumper ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos, et potius unum tot Claudiis deprecantibus condonarent, quam propter unius odium multorum preces aspernarentur. Se quoque id generi ac nomini dare, nec cum eo in gratiam
15 redisse, cujus adversæ fortunæ velit succursum. Virtute libertatem recuperatam esse, clementia concordiam ordinum stabiliri posse. Erant, quos moveret sua magis pietate, quam ejus, pro quo agebat, causa; sed Virginius sui potius misererentur orabat filiaeque, nec gentis Claudiae
20 regnum in plebem sortitæ sed necessariorum Virginiae, trium tribunorum, preces audirent, qui, ad auxilium plebis creati, ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implorarent. Justiores hæ lacrimæ videbantur: itaque spe incisa, priusquam prodicta dies adesset, Appius mortem sibi conscivit.
25 Subinde arreptus a P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiæ, quod in urbe fuerat, quum injustæ vindiciæ a collega dicerentur. Plus tamen facta injuria Oppio quam non prohibita invidiæ fecit; testis productus, qui septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis octies extra ordinem donatus, donaque ea gerens in conspectu populi, scissa veste, tergum laceratum virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans, quin, si quam suam noxam reus dicere posset, privatus iterum in se sæviret. Oppius quoque ductus in vincula est, et ante judicii diem finem ibi vitæ fecit. Bona Claudi
35 Oppiique tribuni publicavere. Collegæ eorum exsilio causa solum verterunt, bona publicata sunt. Et M. Claudius assertor Virginiae die dicta damnatus, ipso remittente

Virginio ultimam pœnam dimissus, Tibur exsulatum abiit; manesque Virginiae, mortuæ quam vivæ felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas pœnas vagati, nullo relicto sonte, tandem quieverunt.

LIX. Ingens metus incesserat patres, vultusque jam 5 inde tribunorum erant, qui decemvirorum fuerant, quum M. Duellius, tribunus plebis, inhibito salubriter modo nimiae potestatis, "et libertatis," inquit, "nostræ, et pœnarum ex inimicis, satis est: itaque hoc anno nec diem dici cuiquam nec in vincula duci quemquam sum passurus: 10 nam neque vetera peccata repeti jam oblitterata placet, quum nova expiata sint decemvirorum suppliciis, et nihil admissum iri, quod vim tribuniciam desideret, spondet perpetua consulum amborum in libertate vestra tuenda cura." Ea primum moderatio tribuni metum patribus 15 dempsit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam; quod adeo toti plebis fuissent, ut patrum salutis libertatisque prior plebeio magistratui quam patricio cura fuisset, et ante inimicos satietas pœnarum suarum cepisset, quam obviam ituros licentiæ eorum consules appareret: multique erant, 20 qui mollius consultum dicerent, quod legum ab iis latarum patres auctores fuissent, neque erat dubium, quin turbato reipublicæ statu tempori succubuissent.

LIBRI QUARTI

CAP. I-VI.

1. Hos secuti M. Genucius et C. Curtius consules.

Fuit annus domi forisque infestus. Nam anni principio et de connubio patrum et plebis C. Canuleius, u. c. tribunus plebis, rogationem promulgavit, qua con- 310. taminari sanguinem suum patres, confundique jura 5 442. gentium rebantur: et mentio, primo sensim illata a tribunis, ut alterum ex plebe consulem liceret fieri, eo processit deinde, ut rogationem novem tribuni promulgarent, ut populo potestas esset, seu de plebe, seu de patribus vellet, consules faciendi. Id vero si fieret, non vulgari 10 modo cum infimis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem summum imperium credebant. Læti ergo audiere patres, Ardeatium populum ob injuriam agri abjudicati descisse, et Veientes depopulatos extrema agri Romani, et Volscos Æquosque ob communitam Verruginem fremere: 15 adeo vel infelix bellum ignominiosæ paci præferebant. His itaque in majus etiam acceptis, ut inter strepitum tot bellorum conticiscerent actiones tribuniciaë, delectus haberi, bellum armaque vi summa apparari jubent, si quo intentius possit, quam T. Quinctio consule apparatus sit. Tum 20 C. Canuleius pauca in senatu vociferatus, nequidquam teritando consules avertere plebem a cura novarum legum, nunquam eos se vivo delectum habituros, antequam ea, quæ promulgata ab se collegisque essent, plebes scivisset; et confestim ad concionem advocavit.

II. Eodem tempore et consules senatum in tribunum, et tribunus populum in consules incitabat. Negabant consules jam ultra ferri posse furores tribunicios, ventum jam ad finem esse, domi plus belli concitari quam foris. Id non adeo plebis quam patrum, neque tribunorum magis 5 quam consulum, culpa accidere. Cujus rei præmium sit in civitate, eam maximis semper auctibus crescere: sic pace bonos, sic bello fieri. Maximum Romæ præmium seditio- num esse, id et singulis universisque semper honori fuisse. Reminiscerentur, quam majestatem senatus ipsi a patribus 10 accepissent, quam liberis tradituri essent: ut, quemadmodum plebs, gloriari possent, auctiorem amplioremque esse? Finem ergo non fieri, nec futuram, donec, quam felices seditiones, tam honorati seditionum auctores essent. Quas quantasque res C. Canuleium aggressum! Colluvionem 15 gentium, perturbationem auspiciorum publicorum privatorumque afferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quid incontaminati sit, ut, discrimine omni sublato, nec se quisquam, nec suos noverit. Quam enim aliam vim connubia promiscua habere, nisi ut ferarum prope ritu vulgentur concubitus plebis 20 patrumque? Ut, qui natus sit, ignoret, ejus sanguinis, quorum sacrorum sit, dimidius patrum sit, dimidius plebis, ne secum quidem ipse concors. Parum id videri, quod omnia divina humanaque turbentur: jam ad consulatum vulgi turbatores accingi. Et primo, ut alter consul ex 25 plebe fieret, id modo sermonibus tentasse; nunc rogari, seu ex patribus, seu ex plebe velit, populus consules creet. Et creaturos haud dubie ex plebe seditiosissimum quemque; Canuleios igitur Icilioque consules fore. Ne id Jupiter optimus maximus sineret, regiæ majestatis imperium 30 eo recidere; et se millies morituros potius, quam ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur. Certum habere, majores quoque, si divinassent, concedendo omnia non mitiorem in se plebem, sed asperiores alia ex aliis iniquiora postulando, quum prima impetrasset, futuram, primo quamlibet dimi- 35 cationem subituros fuisse potius, quam eas leges sibi imponi paterentur. Quia tum concessum sit de tribunis,

iterum concessum esse; finem non fieri; non posse in eadem civitate tribunos plebis et patres esse; aut hunc ordinem, aut illum magistratum tollendum esse, potiusque sero, quam nunquam obviam eundum audaciæ temeritæque.

- 5 Illine ut impune primo discordias serentes concitent finitima bella, deinde adversus ea, quæ concitaverint, armari civitatem defendique prohibeant; et, quum hostes tantum non arcessierint, exercitus conscribi adversus hostes non patiantur, sed audeat Canuleius in senatu proloqui se, nisi
10 suas leges, tamquam victoris, patres accipi sinant, delectum haberi prohibiturum! Quid esse aliud, quam minari, se proditurum patriam, oppugnari atque capi passurum? Quid eam vocem animorum, non plebi Romanæ, sed Volscis et Æquis et Veientibus allaturam! Nonne, Canuleio
15 duce, se speraturos Capitolium atque arcem scandere posse, si patribus tribuni, cum jure ac majestate adempta, animos etiam eripuerint? Consules paratos esse duces prius adversus scelus civium, quam adversus hostium arma.

- III. Quum maxime hæc in senatu agerentur, Canuleius
20 pro legibus suis et adversus consules ita disseruit: "quantopere vos, Quirites, contemnerent patres, quam indignos ducerent, qui una secum urbe intra eadem mœnia viveretis, sæpe equidem et ante videor animadvertisse: nunc tamen maxime, quod adeo atroces in has rogationes nostras coorti
25 sunt; quibus quid aliud quam admonemus, cives nos eorum esse et, si non easdem opes habere, eandem tamen patriam incolere? Altera connubium petimus, quod finitimis externisque dari solet—nos quidem civitatem, quæ plus quam
30 nihil novi ferimus, sed id, quod populi est, repetimus atque usurpamus, ut, quibus velit, populus Romanus honores mandet. Quid tandem est, cur cælum ac terras misceant, cur in me impetus modo pæne in senatu sit factus, negent se manibus temperaturos violaturosque denuntient sacro
35 sanctam potestatem? Si populo Romano liberum suffragium datur, ut, quibus velit, consulatum mandet, et non præciditur spes plebeio quoque—si dignus summo honore

erit—apiscendi summi honoris, stare urbs hæc non poterit? De imperio actum est? Et perinde hoc valet, “plebeius-ne consul fiat,” tamquam servum aut libertinum aliquis consulem futurum dicat? Ecquid sentitis, in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis hujus partem, si liceat, adimant: quod spiratis, quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indignantur: quin etiam, si dis placet, nefas aiunt esse, consulem plebeium fieri. Obsecro vos, si non ad fastos, non ad commentarios pontificum admittimur, nec ea quidem scimus quæ omnes peregrini etiam sciunt, consules in locum regum successisse, nec aut juris aut majestatis quidquam habere, quod non in regibus ante fuerit? En unquam creditis fando auditum esse, Numam Pompilium, non modo non patricium, sed ne civem quidem Romanum, ex Sabino agro accitum populi jussu, patribus auctoribus, Romæ regnasse? L. deinde Tarquinius, non modo Romanæ, sed ne Italicæ quidem gentis—Demarati Corinthii filium—incolam ab Tarquiniis, vivis liberis Anci, regem factum? Servium Tullium post hunc, captiva Corniculana natum—patre nullo, matre serva—ingenio, virtute, regnum tenuisse? Quid enim de T. Tatio Sabino dicam, quem ipse Romulus, parens urbis, in societatem regni accepit? Ergo, dum nullum fastiditur genus, in quo eniteret virtus, crevit imperium Romanum. Pæniteat nunc vos plebei consulis, quum majores nostri advenas reges non fastidierint, et ne regibus quidem exactis clausa urbs fuerit peregrinæ virtuti? Claudiam certe gentem, post reges exactos, ex Sabinis non in civitatem modo accepimus, sed etiam in patriciorum numerum. Ex peregrinone patricius, deinde consul fiat, civis Romanus si sit ex plebe, præcisa consulatus spes erit? Utrum tandem non credimus fieri posse, ut vir fortis ac strenuus, pace belloque bonus, ex plebe, sit Numæ, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio, similis: an, ne si sit quidem, ad gubernacula rei publicæ accedere eum patiemur, potiusque decemviris—tetrarum mortalium, qui tamen omnes ex patribus erant—quam optimis regum novis hominibus, similes consules sumus habituri?”

IV. "At enimvero nemo, post reges exactos, de plebe consul fuit. Quid postea? Nullane res nova institui debet, et, quod nondum est factum—multa enim nondum sunt facta in novo populo—ea, ne si utilia quidem sunt, fieri oportet? Pontifices, augures, Romulo regnante, nulli erant; ab Numa Pompilio creati sunt. Census in civitate, et descriptio centuriarum classiumque non erat: ab Ser. Tullio est facta. Consules nunquam fuerunt: regibus exactis, creati sunt. Dictatoris nec imperium nec nomen fuerat: apud patres esse cœpit. Tribuni plebi, ædiles, quæstores, nulli erant; institutum est, ut fierent. Decemvros legibus scribendis intra decem hos annos et creavimus, et e republica sustulimus. Quis dubitat, quin, in æternum urbe condita, in immensum crescente, nova imperia, sacerdotia, jura gentium hominumque instituantur? Hoc ipsum, ne connubium patribus cum plebe esset, non decemviri tulerunt paucis his annis pessimo exemplo publico, cum summa injuria plebis? An esse ulla major aut insignitior contumelia potest, quam partem civitatis, velut contaminatam, indignam connubio haberi? Quid est aliud, quam exsilium intra eadem mœnia, quam relegationem, pati? Ne affinitatibus, ne propinquitatibus immisceamur, caveant, ne societur sanguis! Quid, hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam vestram, quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis, non genere nec sanguine, sed per cooptationem in patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti, aut post reges exactos jussu populi, sinceram servare privatis consiliis non poteratis, nec ducendo ex plebe, neque vestras filias sororesque enubere sinendo e patribus? Nemo plebeius patriciæ virgini vim afferret; patriciorum ista libido est; nemo invitum pactionem nuptialem quemquam facere coegisset. Verum enimvero lege id prohiberi, et connubium tolli patrum ac plebis, id demum contumeliosum plebi est. Cur enim non confertis, ne sit connubium divitibus ac pauperibus? Quod privatorum consiliorum ubique semper fuit, ut, in quam cuique feminae convenisset domum, nuberet; ex qua pactus esset vir domo, in matrimonium

duceret; id vos sub legis superbissimæ vincula conjicitis, qua dirimatis societatem civilem, duasque ex una civitate faciatis. Cur non sancitis, ne vicinus patricio sit plebeius nec eodem itinere eat, ne idem convivium ineat, ne in foro eodem consistat? Quid enim in re est aliud, si plebeiam 5 patricius duxerit, si patriciam plebeius? Quid juris tandem immutatur? Nempe patrem sequuntur liberi. Nec, quod nos ex connubio vestro petamus, quidquam est præterquam ut hominum, ut civium numero simus; nec vos, nisi in contumeliam ignominiamque nostram certare juvat, 10 quod contendatis, quidquam est."

V. "Denique, utrum tandem populi Romani, an vestrum, summum imperium est? Regibus exactis, utrum vobis dominatio, an omnibus æqua libertas parta est? Oportet licere populo Romano, si velit, jubere legem, an, 15 ut quæque rogatio promulgata erit, vos delectum pro pœna decernetis? Et, simul ego tribunus vocare tribus in suffragium cœpero, tu statim consul sacramento juniores adiges, et in castra educes, et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno? Quid, si non, quantum istæ minæ adversus plebis consen- 20 sum valerent, bis jam experti essetis? Scilicet, quia vobis consultum volebatis, certamine abstinuistis: an ideo non est dimicatum, quod, quæ pars firmior, eadem modestior fuit? Nec nunc erit certamen, Quirites. Animos vestros illi tentabunt semper, vires non experientur. Itaque ad bella 25 ista—seu falsa seu vera sunt,—consules, parata vobis plebes est, si, connubiis redditis, unam hanc civitatem tandem facitis, si coalescere, si jungi miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus possunt, si spes, si aditus ad honores viris strenuis et fortibus datur, si in consortio, si in socie- 30 tate reipublicæ esse, si—quod æquæ libertatis est—invicem annuis magistratibus parere atque imperitare licet. Si hæc impedit aliquis, ferte sermonibus, et multiplicata fama bella—nemo est nomen daturus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus pro superbis dominis, cum quibus 35 nec in re publica honorum, nec in privata connubii societas est."

VI. Quum in concionem et consules processissent, et res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset, interroganti tribuno, cur plebeium consulem fieri non oporteret, ut fortasse vere, sic parum utiliter in præsens certamen re-
5 spondit, quod nemo plebeius auspicia haberet, ideoque decemviros connubium diremisse, ne incerta prole auspicia turbarentur. Plebes ad id maxime indignatione exarsit, quod auspiciari, tamquam invisi diis immortalibus, negarentur posse; nec ante finis contentionum fuit, quum et
10 tribunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset, et ipsa cum eo pertinacia certaret, quam victi tandem patres, ut de connubio ferretur, concessere, ita maxime rati contentionem de plebeiis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros, aut post bellum dilaturos esse, contentamque interim
15 connubio plebem paratam dilectui fore. Quum Canuleius victoria de patribus et plebis favore ingens esset, accensi alii tribuni ad certamen pro rogatione sua summa vi pugnant, et, crescente in dies fama belli, delectum impediunt. Consules, quum per senatum, intercedentibus tribunis, nihil
20 agi posset, consilia principum domi habebant; apparebat, aut hostibus aut civibus de victoria concedendum esse. Soli ex consularibus Valerius atque Horatius non intere- rant consiliis. C. Claudii sententia consules armabat in tribunos, Quinctiorum—Cincinnatique et Capitolini—sen-
25 tentiæ abhorrebant a cæde violandisque, quos, fœdere icto cum plebe, sacrosanctos accepissent. Per hæc consilia eo deducta est res, ut tribunos militum consulari potestate promiscue ex patribus ac plebe creari sinerent, de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur: eoque contenti tribuni, con-
30 tenta plebs fuit. Comitibus tribunis consulari potestate tribus creandis indicuntur. Quibus indictis, extemplo, quicumque aliquid seditiose dixerat aut fecerat, quam maxime tribunicii, et prensare homines, et concursare toto foro candidati cœpere, ut patricos desperatio primo, irri-
35 tata plebe, apiscendi honoris, deinde indignatio, si cum his gerendus esset honos, deterreret; postremo coacti tamen a primoribus petiere, ne cessasse possessione reipublicæ vide-

rentur. Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit, alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios, secundum deposita certamina, incorrupto iudicio esse: tribunos enim omnes patricios creavit populus, contentus eo, quod ratio habita plebeiorum esset. Hanc modestiam æquitatemque 5 et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tum populi universi fuit!

LIBRI QUINTI

CAP. XXXV-XLIX.

- XXXV. . . . Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Æsim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium Romamque inde venisse comperio; id parum certum est, solamne, an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum
5 Gallorum populis adjutam. Clusini novo bello exterriti, quum multitudinem, quum formas hominum invisitas cernerent, et genus armorum, audirentque sæpe ab iis, cis Padum ultraque, legiones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam adversus Romanos nullum eis jus societatis amicitiae
10 erat, nisi quod Veientes consanguineos adversus populum Romanum non defendissent, legatos Romam, qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil impetratum; legati M. Fabii Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus populi Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, ne, a quibus nullam
15 injuriam accepissent, socios populi Romani atque amicos oppugnarent; Romanis eos bello quoque, si res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum, bellum ipsum amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius cognosci quam armis.
- 20 XXXVI. Mitis legatio, ni præferoces legatos, Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes, habuisset. Quibus, postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur responsum: etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida sit imploratum; et, quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem

quam illi afferant aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem
 latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium con-
 cedant; aliter pacem impetrari non posse; et responsum
 coram Romanis se accipere velle, et, si negetur ager,
 coram iisdem Romanis dimicatu- 5
 ros, ut nuntiare domum
 possent, quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales præsta-
 rent. Quodnam id jus esset, agrum a possessoribus petere
 aut minari arma, Romanis quærentibus, et quid in Etruria
 rei Gallis esset, quum illi, se in armis jus ferre, et omnia
 fortium virorum esse, ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque 10
 animis ad arma discurritur, et prælium conseritur. Ibi—
 jam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis—legati contra jus
 gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit, quum
 ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Ro-
 manæ juventutis pugnarent; tantum eminebat peregrina 15
 virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius, evectus extra aciem equo,
 ducem Gallorum ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum in-
 cursantem, per latus transfixum hasta, occidit; spoliaque
 ejus legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem Roma-
 num legatum esse signum datum est. Omissa inde in 20
 Clusinos ira, receptui canunt, minantes Romanis. Erant,
 qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores,
 ut legati prius mitterentur questum injurias postulatum-
 que, ut, pro jure gentium violato, Fabii dederentur. Legati
 Gallorum quum ea sicut erant mandata exposuissent, 25
 senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et jus postulare
 barbari videbantur; sed, ne id quod placebat decerneret
 in tantæ nobilitatis viris, ambitio obstabat. Itaque, ne
 penes ipsos culpa esset cladis forte Gallico bello acceptæ,
 cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum rejiciunt; 30
 ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valere, ut, quorum de
 pœna agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate
 in insequentem annum crearentur. Quo facto, haud U. C.
 secus quam dignum erat, infensi Galli, bellum pro- 365.
 palam minantes, ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum A. C 35
 cum tribus Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. 387.
 Servilius quarto, P. Cornelius Maluginensis.

XXXVII. Quum tanta moles mali instaret—adeo obcæcat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult,—civitas, quæ adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos, ultima experiens auxilia, 5 dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea tunc, invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii quæsivit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summæ rerum præerant, delectumque nihilo accuratorem, quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant. Interim Galli, postquam acceperere ultro honorem habitum violatoribus juris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira—cujus impotens est gens—confestim signis convulsis, cita- 15 to agmine iter ingrediuntur. Ad quorum prætereuntium raptim tumultum quum exterritæ urbes ad arma concurrebant, fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore significabant, quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed, antecedente fama nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit, quippe quibus, velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto, ægre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Alia, Crustumini montibus præalto defluens alveo, 25 haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Jam omnia contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.

XXXVIII. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris ante 30 capto, non præmunito vallo quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec auspicato, nec litato, instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne circumveniri multitudine hostium possent. Nec tamen æquari frontes poterant, quum extenuando infirmam et vix cohærentem 35 mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleti placuit, eaque res, ut initium pavoris ac fugæ, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam

Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius facilem in æquo campi tantum superanti multitudini victoriam fore. Adeo non fortuna modo, sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites, erat; pavor fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo major pars Veios in hostium urbem, quum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad conjuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua acie simul est clamor, proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo, auditus, ignotum hostem prius pæne quam viderent, non modo non tentato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem reddito, integri intactique fugerunt. Nec ulla cædes pugnantium fuit; terga cæsa suomet ipsorum certamine in turba impredientium fugam. Circa ripam Tiberis, quo armis abjectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est; multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves loriceis aliisque tegminibus, hausere gurgites. Maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios perfugit; unde non modo præsidii quidquam, sed ne nuntius quidem cladis, Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petiere, et, ne clausis quidem portis urbis, in arcem confugerunt.

XXXIX. Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriæ tam repentinæ tenuit. Et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt, velut ignari, quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremo cæsorum spolia legere, armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare. Tum demum, postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi, haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi quum prægressi equites, non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris, retulissent, aliud priori simile miraculum eos susti-

nuit; noctemque veriti et ignotæ situm urbis inter Romam atque Anienem consedere, exploratoribus missis circa mœnia aliasque portas, quænam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent. Romani, quum pars major ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, nemo superesse quemquam præter eos, qui Romam refugerant, crederent, complorati omnes, pariter vivi mortuique, totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam hostes adesse nuntiatum est. Mox ululatus cantusque dissonos, vagantibus circa mœnia turmatim barbaris, audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem jam in urbem futurus videretur impetus; primo adventu, quo accesserant ad urbem, mansuros enim ad Aliam fuisse, nisi hoc consilii foret; deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante noctem rati se invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent; postremo lux appropinquans exanimare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit, quum signa infesta portis sunt illata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte, neque insequenti die, similis illi, quæ ad Aliam tam pavidè fugerat, civitas fuit; nam quum defendi urbem posse, tam parva relicta manu, spes nulla esset, placuit, cum conjugibus ac liberis, juventutem militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere; armisque et frumento collato, ex loco inde munito deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere; flaminem sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a cæde ab incendiis procul auferre; nec ante deseri cultum eorum, quam non superessent, qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque sedes deorum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris juvenus superfuerit imminenti ruinæ urbis, facilem jacturam esse seniorum, relictæ in urbe utique perituræ turbæ. Et quo id æquiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obituros, nec his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam possent, oneratos inopiam armatorum.

XL. Hæc inter seniores morti destinatos jactata solatia. Versæ inde adhortationes ad agmen juvenum, quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequabantur, commendantes virtuti eorum juventæque urbis per trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis, quæcumque reliqua esset, fortunam. Digredientibus, qui spem omnem atque opem secum ferebant, ab his, qui captæ urbis non superesse statuerant exitio, quum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus, et concursatio incerta, nunc hos nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque viros natosque, cui se fato darent, nihil, quod humanis superesset malis, relinquebant. Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos persecutæ sunt, nec prohibente ullo nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam imbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine jam uno petiit Janiculum; inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque spem, sua consilia, communibus deploratis, exsequentes. Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales, ommissa rerum suarum cura, quæ sacrorum secum ferenda, quæ, quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, relinquenda essent consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli asservaturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo ædibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc desui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt via, quæ sublicio ponte ducit ad Janiculum. In eo clivo eas quum L. Albinus, de plebe Romana homo, conspexisset, plaustrum conjugem ac liberos habens, inter ceteram turbam, quæ inutilis bello urbe excedebat, salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum, irreligiosum ratus sacerdotes publicos sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros jussit, virgines sacraque in plaustrum imposuit et Cære, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

- XLI. Romæ interim, satis jam omnibus ut in tali re ad tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum domos regressa adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo exspectabat. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunæ
 5 pristinæ honorumque aut virtutis insignibus morerentur, quæ augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphantibusve, ea vestiti medio ædium eburnis sellis sedere. Sunt, qui, M. Fabio pontifice maximo præfante carmen, devovisse eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis, tradant.
- 10 Galli, et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnæ remiserant animos, et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant prælio, nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum, ingressi postero die urbem patiente Collina porta, in forum perveniunt, circumferentes
 15 oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam belli speciem tenentem. Inde, modico relicto præsidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad prædam vacuis occursum hominum viis, pars in proxima quæque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima, velut ea demum in
 20 tacta et referta præda, petunt. Inde rursus ipsa solitudine absteriti, ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati redibant; ubi eos, plebis ædificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis principum, major prope cunctatio tenebat aperta quam clausa invadendi;
 25 adeo haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in ædium vestibulis sedentes viros, præter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem, majestate etiam, quam vultus gravitasque oris præ se ferebat, simillimos diis. Ad eos, velut simulacra, versi quum starent, M. Papirius unus ex his
 30 dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti, scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse; atque ab eo initium cædis ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos. Post principum cædem, nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis injici ignes.
- 35 XLII. Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et ostentari quædam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem

caritate sedium suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia concremari tecta, ut, quodcumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem 5 cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, quum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum concipere, sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant. Quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammæ et fragor ruentium 10 tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriæ, nec ullius rerum suarum relictæ præterquam corporum vindices; tanto ante alios miserandi magis, qui unquam obsessi sunt, quod interclusi a patria obside- 15 bantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam fæde actum exceperat; lux deinde noctem inquietam insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novæ semper cladis alicujus spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen, tot onerati atque obruti malis, flexerunt animos, 20 quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis æquata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem libertati relictum, virtute defenderent. Et jam, quum eadem quotidie acciderent, velut assueti malis, abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris, 25 velut solas reliquias spei suæ, intuentes.

XLIII. Galli quoque, per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequidquam bello gesto, quum inter incendia ac ruinas captæ urbis nihil superesse præter armatos hostes viderent, nec quidquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad dedi- 30 tionem animos, ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem statuunt. Prima luce, signo dato, multitudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quod Romani nihil temere nec trepide, ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis, 35 qua signa ferri videbant, ea robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt, quo successerint magis in arduum,

eo pelli posse per proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clive
 resistere, atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte
 in hostem inferebat, impetu facto, strage ac ruina fudere
 Gallos, ut nunquam postea nec pars nec universi tentave-
 5 rint tale pugnæ genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque
 arma subeundi, obsidionem parant, cujus ad id tempus im-
 memores et, quod in urbe fuerat, frumentum incendiis urbis
 absumpserant, et ex agris per ipsos dies raptum omne
 Veios erat; igitur, exercitu diviso, partim per finitimos
 10 populos prædari placuit, partim obsideri arcem, ut obsi-
 dentibus frumentum populatores agrorum præberent. Pro-
 ficiscentes Gallos ab urbe, ad Romanam experiendam vir-
 tutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus exsulabat, duxit;
 qui mæstior ibi fortuna publica quam sua, cum diis homini-
 15 busque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque, ubi
 illi viri essent, qui secum Veios Faleriosque cepissent, qui
 alia bella fortius semper quam felicius gessissent, repente
 audit Gallorum exercitum adventare, atque de eo pavidos
 Ardeates consultare: nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus,
 20 quum se in mediam concionem intulisset, abstinere suetus
 ante talibus conciliis,

XLIV. "Ardeates," inquit, "veteres amici, novi etiam
 cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et for-
 tuna hoc egit mea, nemo vestrum conditionis meæ obli-
 25 tum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac periculum com-
 mune cogit, quod quisque possit in re trepida præsidii, in
 medium conferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris
 in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? Aut
 ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hac arte
 30 in patria steti, et invictus bello in pace ab ingratis civibus
 pulsus sum. Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et
 pro tantis pristinis populi Romani beneficiis, quanta ipsi
 meministis, nec enim exprobranda ea apud memores sunt,
 gratiæ referendæ, et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste
 35 communi pariendi. Qui effuso agmine adventant, gens
 est, cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quam firma
 dedit; eo in certamen omne plus terroris, quam virium,

ferunt. Argumento sit clades Romana; patentem cepere urbem, ex arce Capitolioque his exigua resistitur manu. Jam obsidionis tædio victi abscedunt, vagique per agros palantur; cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi nox appetit, prope rivos aquarum, sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis, passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito incauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri mœnia vestra, nec pati hæc omnia Galliam fieri, prima vigilia capite arma frequentes, me sequimini ad cædem, non ad pugnam; nisi vinctos somno, velut pecudes, trucidandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeæ rerum mearum exitum, quem Romæ habui.”

XLV. Æquis iniquisque persuasum erat, tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse; concione limissa, corpora curant, intenti, quam mox signum daretur; quo dato, primæ silentio noctis ad portas Camillo præsto fuere. Egressi, haud procul urbe, sicut prædictum erat, castra Gallorum, intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti, cum ingenti clamore invadunt; nusquam prælium, omnibus locis cædes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor e cubilibus suis excitos, quæ aut unde yis esset, ignaros, in fugam et quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit; magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati, incursione ab oppidanis in palatos facta, circumveniuntur. Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages est, qui urbis, jam prope quadringentesimum annum vicinæ, oppressæ ab hoste invisitato, inaudito, adeo nihil miseriti sunt, ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones facerent, plenique prædæ Veios etiam præsidiumque et spem ultimam Romani nominis, in animo habuerint oppugnare. Viderant eos milites Romani, vagantes per agros et congregatos agmine, prædam præ se agentes, et castra cernebant haud procul Veiis posita. Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit; Etruscisne etiam, a quibus bellum Galli cum in se avertissent, ludibrio esse clades suas? Vix temperavere animis, quin extemplo impetum facerent,

compressique a Cædicio centurione, quem sibimet ipsi præfecerant, rem in noctem sustinuerunt. Tantum par Camillo defuit auctor, cetera eodem ordine eodemque fortunæ eventu gesta. Quin etiam ducibus captivis, qui cædi nocturnæ superfuerant, ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad Salinas profecti, nocte insequente ex improvise majorem cædem edidere, duplicique victoria ovantes Veios redeunt.

XLVI. Romæ interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrimque silentium esse, ad id tantum intentis Gallis, ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset, quum repente juvenis Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiæ; ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorso, Gabino cinctus, sacra manibus gerens quum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus, nihil ad vocem cujusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit; ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis eadem revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos, quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciæ, seu religione etiam motis, cujus haudquaquam negligens gens est. Veiiis interim non animi tantum in dies sed etiam vires crescebant; nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris, qui aut prælio adverso aut clade captæ urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in parte prædæ essent. Maturum jam videbatur, repeti patriam, eripique ex hostium manibus, sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui ductu auspicioque ejus res prospere gesserant; et Cædicius negare se commissurum, cur sibi aut deorum aut nominum quisquam imperium finiret potius, quam ipse memor ordinis sui posceret imperatorem. Consensu omnium placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romæ esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat;

ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, impiger juvenis, operam pollicitus, incubans cortici, secundo Tiberi ad urbem deferitur; inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa, per præruptum, eoque neglectum hostium custodiæ, saxum in Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus mandata exercitus edit. 5
Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exilio jussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur, militesque haberent imperatorem quem vellent, eadem digressus nuntius Veios contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum, Veios eum perduxere, seu— 10
quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardea, quam comperit legem latam, quod nec injussu populi mutari finibus posset, nec nisi dictator dictus, auspicia in exercitu habere—lex curiata lata est, dictatorque absens dictus. 15

XLVII. Dum hæc Veiis agebantur, interim arx Romæ Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu vestigio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veiis pervenerat, seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxorum ascensu æquo, nocte sublustri, quum primo inermem, qui 20
tentaret viam, præmisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sublevantesque invicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, 25
excitarent. Anseres non fefellere, quibus, sacris Junoni, in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur; quæ res saluti fuit: namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis, simul ad arma ceteros ciens 30
vadit; et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui jam in summo constiterat, umbone ictum deturbat. Cujus casus prolapsi quum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios, armisque omissis saxa, quibus adhærebant, manibus amplexos, trucidant. Jamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque 35
saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota prolapsa acies in præceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis,

quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat, cum præteritur quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti datum est. Luce orta, vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, quum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius
 5 primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab tribunis solum militum, sed consensu etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad ædes ejus, quæ in arce erant, contulerunt, rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, quum se quisque
 10 victu suo fraudans, detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles ejus loci, qua fefellerat ascendens hostis, citati; et quum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore mi-
 15 litum in unum vigilem conjicientium culpam, deterritus, a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium ejus noxæ, approbantibus cunctis, de saxo dejecit. Inde intentiores utrimque custodiæ esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat inter Veios Romanque nuntios commeare, et apud Ro-
 20 manos, ab nocturni periculi memoria.

XLVIII. Sed, ante omnia obsidionis bellicque mala, fames utrimque exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, quum loco jacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno, cineremque non
 25 pulverem modo ferente, quum quid venti motum esset; quorum intolerantissima gens, humorique ac frigori assueta, quum, æstu et angore vexata, vulgatis velut in pecua morbis, morerentur, jam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant, bustorumque
 30 inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Induciæ deinde cum Romanis factæ, et colloquia permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus, quum identidem Galli famem objicerent, eaque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur, avertendæ ejus opinionis causa, multis locis panis de
 35 Capitolio jactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed jam neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat: itaque, dum dictator delectum per se Ardeæ habet, magistrum

equitum L. Valerium a Veiiis abducere exercitum jubet, parat instruitque, quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes, interim Capitolinus exercitus, stationibus vigiliisque fessus, superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis, quum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod 5 auxilium ab dictatore appareret, postremo spe quoque jam non solum cibo deficiente, et, quum stationes procederent, prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis, vel dedi, vel redimi se quacumque pactione possent jussit; jactantibus non obscure Gallis, haud magna mercede se adduci 10 posse, ut obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum colloquio transacta res est, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. 15 Rei foedissimæ per se adjecta indignitas est; pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua, et, tribuno recusante, additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox "væ victis esse."

XLIX. Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos 20 vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, prius quam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro appenso, dictator intervenit, auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos submoveri jubet. Quum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse, quæ, 25 postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, injussu suo ab inferioris juris magistratu facta esset, denuntiatque Gallis ut se ad prælium expediant. Suos in acervum conjicere sarcinas, et arma aptare, ferroque non auro recuperare patriam jubet, in conspectu habentes fana deûm, et con- 30 juges, et liberos, et solum patriæ deforme belli malis et omnia, quæ defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutæ solo urbis, et natura inæquali, et omnia, quæ arte belli secunda suis eligi præpararive poterant, providit. Galli, nova re 35 trepidi, arma capiunt, iraque magis, quam consilio, in Romanos incurrunt. Jam verterat fortuna, jam deorum opes

humanaque consilia rem Romanam adjuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud majore momento fusi Galli sunt quam ad Aliam vicerant. Justiore altero deinde praelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, ejusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur et ne nuntius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator, recuperata ex hostibus patria, triumphans in urbem redit, interque jocos militares, quos inconditos jaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriæ conditorque
10 alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.

LIBER VICESIMUS PRIMUS.

I. IN parte operis mei licet mihi præfari, quod in principio summæ totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit; et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello; et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint, qui 10 vicerunt; odiis etiam prope majoribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Pœnis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam, Hannibalem annorum ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, quum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo trajecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacris jurejurando adactum, se, quum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: nam et Siciliam 2 nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

II. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret, majus eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in

animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Pœnos arma Italiæ illaturos fuisse, quæ Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem
5 ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi ascitus, et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane voluntate principum,
10 in imperio positus. Is, plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitiiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo
15 domini obtruncat; comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut, superante lætitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem præbuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia miræ artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperio-
20 que suo jungendis fuerat, fœdus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Iberus, Sargentinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

III. In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin
25 prærogativam militarem, qua extemplo juvenis Hannibal in prætorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se arcessierat: actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat, Barcinis
30 nitentibus, ut assuesceret militiæ Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes; Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, “et æquum postulare videtur,” inquit, “Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum.” Quum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiæ in se omnes convertisset,
35 “florem ætatis,” inquit, “Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum præbuit, justo jure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet, juventutem nostram pro

militari rudimento assuefacere libidini prætorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cujus regis genero hereditarii sint relictî exercitus nostri, ejus filio parum mature serviamus? Ego, istum juvenem domi 5 tenendum, sub legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum vivere æquo jure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet."

IV. Pauci, ac ferme optimus quisque, Hannoni assentiebantur: sed, ut plerumque fit, major pars meliorem 10 vicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit. Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri; dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum 15 momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac 20 strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter pericula erat; nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non 25 voluntate, modus finitus. Vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora; id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio arcessita. Multi sæpe militari sagulo opertum humi jacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. 30 Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in prælium ibat, ultimus conserto prælio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant; inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum 35

atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quæ agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, prætermissa.

V. Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta, bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Iberum ea gens in parte magis quam in ditione Carthaginiensium erat—induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus jungendoque, tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam, urbem opulentam, caput gentis ejus, expugnat diripitque; quo metu percussæ minores civitates, stipendio imposito, imperium acceperunt: victor exercitus opulentusque præda Carthaginem novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo prædam, stipendioque præterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccæos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala eorum urbes vi captæ. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi, exsulis Olcadum, priore æstate domitæ gentis, quum se junxissent, concitant Carpetanos; adortique Hannibalem, regressum ex Vaccæis, haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave præda turbavere. Hannibal prælio abstinuit; castrisque super ripam positis, quum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado trajecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus præcepit, ut, quum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos—quadraginta autem erant—disposuit. Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccæorumque centum millia fuere, invicta acies, si æquo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti, et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati,

quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato, passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera ripæ vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi 5 equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset, eques, corpore armisque liber,—equo vel per medios gurgites stabili—comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam, verticoso amni delati in hostes, ab elephantis obtriti sunt: postremi, quibus regressus in 10 suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione quum in unum colligerentur, priusquam tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal, agmine quadrato amnem ingressus, fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris, intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit. Et jam omnia trans Ibe- 15 rum præter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

VI. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum jam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen juris, sed vim quæri appareret, legati 20 a Saguntinis Romam missi, auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romæ erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Tib. Sempronius Longus: qui quum, legatis in senatum introductis, de republica retulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum 25 inspicendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam trajicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent,—hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppu- 30 gnari allatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii, provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes, terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant bellum. Erant, qui non temere movendam rem tantam, expectan- 35 dosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Hæc sententia, quæ tutissima videbatur, vicit; legatique eo maturius

missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bæbius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in pœnam fœderis rupti deprecandum.

5 VII. Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, jam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Iberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi cre-
10 verant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinæ sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito aggreditur. Angulus muri erat in plani-
15 orem patentioremq; quam cetera circa, vallem vergens; adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries mœnibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis æquus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, cœptis succedebat: et turris
20 ingens imminabat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceteræ modum altitudinis emunitus erat; et juvenus deleta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi majore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus submovere hostem, nec quidquam satis tutum munientibus pati. Deinde
25 jam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Pœni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula
30 graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineæ desererentur.

VIII. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus
35 ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus qui-

busdam opera locis, vineæ cœptæ agi admoventique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Pœnus—ad centum quinquaginta millia habuisse in armis satis creditur;—oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri cœpti sunt. Non sufficiebant; itaque jam feriebantur arietibus 5 muri, quassatæque multæ partes erant. Una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Pœni; qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in 10 pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariæ pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conciri solent; sed justæ acies, velut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos 15 irritat; Pœno cepisse jam se urbem, si paulum annitatur, credente; Saguntinis pro nudata mœnibus patria corpora opponentibus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabatur, eo plures vulnerabantur, 20 nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis, missile telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti præterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stупpa circumligabant lineabantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum habebat 25 pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si hæsisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, quum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus præbebat. 30

IX. Quum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinīs, quia præter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Pœnus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt, hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum 35 trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dicerent, nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operæ esse legationes audire. Apparebat, non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinæ præmittit, ut præpararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari pro Romanis posset.

X. Itaque præterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam fœderis, magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum assensu audientium egit, per deos fœderum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum. Monuisse, prædisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem ejus conquiescere viri, nec unquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana fœdera; “juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni præbentes, ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur fœdere: mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanæ legiones ducibus iisdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta fœdera sunt ulta. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos, ab sociis et pro sociis venientes, bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, jus gentium sustulit: hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur, pulsati ad vos venerunt. Res ex fœdere repetuntur: publica fraus absit, auctorem culpæ et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum cœperint, vereor, ne perseverantius sæviant. Ægates insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quæ terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex fœdere,

sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque, et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus fœdus rupisset, eventus belli, velut æquus iudex, unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet, Carthaginis mœnia quatit ariete : Sagunti ruinæ—falsus utinam vates sim—nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio, meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse lætatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum jam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc juvenem tamquam furiam facemque hujus belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti fœderis; sed, si nemo deposcit, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaue ejus accedere, neque ille sollicitare quietæ civitatis statum possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant, alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex fœdere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.”

XI. Quum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit, adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat; infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum injuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimæ Carthaginiensium societati præponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem præliis operibusque habebat, paucorum his dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira, in hostes stimulando, nunc spe præmiorum accendit; ut vero pro concione prædam captæ urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt,

ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a prœliis quietem habuerant, nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die unquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum
 5 ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, quum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis, omnia muni-
 10 menta urbis superans altitudine, agebatur, hortator aderat. Quæ quum admota, catapultis ballistisque p̄ omnia tabulata dispositis, muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal, occasionem ratus, quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile
 15 opus, quod cæmenta non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto, structuræ antiquæ genere. Itaque latius, quam qua cæderetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa
 20 urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrunque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione, et
 25 minuitur exspectatio externæ opis, quum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen affectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, delectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus, metum de-
 30 fectionis quum præbuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis, omiserunt mota arma.

XII. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbale Himilconis filio—eum præfecerat Hannibal—ita impigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes senti-
 35 rent. Is et prœlia aliquot secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem

extemplo ductus exercitus atroxque prælium cum multorum utrimque cæde initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco, insciis Saguntinis—precibus aliquid moturum ratus—quum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimæ movebant, conditionesque tristes, ut ab irato victore, ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus, apud hostem mansit, moriturum affirmans, qui sub conditionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento, egressi urbem cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent, ubi Pœnus jussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos, ubi alia vincantur, affirmans, se pacis ejus interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus munimenta, ad prætorem Saguntinum—et ipse ita jubebat—est deductus. Quo quum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine, senatus Alorco datus est, cujus talis oratio fuit.

XIII. “Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis conditiones ab Hannibale ad vos retulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem. Quum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem—sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis conditiones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me, nec ullius alterius, loqui quæ loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis unquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes nec vestra vos jam aut arma aut mœnia satis defendunt, pacem affero ad vos magis necessariam quam æquam. Cujus ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quemad-

modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audiatis, si non id, quod amittitur, in damno, quum omnia victoris sint, sed, quidquid relinquitur, pro munere habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam captam fere
5 totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum assignaturus, in quo novum oppidum ædificetis; aurum et argentum omne publicum privatumque, ad se jubet deferri; corpora vestra conjugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire.
10 Hæc victor hostis imperat, hæc, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, quum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum; sed vel hæc patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora ves-
15 tra conjuges ac liberos belli jure sinatis."

XIV. Ad hæc audienda quum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores, secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne, ex publico privatoque in forum
20 collatum, in ignem ad id raptim factum conjicientes, eodem plerique semet ipsi præcipitaverunt. Quum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur; turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam ejus cohors Pænorum impetu facto quum
25 signum imperatori dedisset, nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus aggressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium
30 cognitum ipso eventu est; cui enim parci potuit ex his, qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?

XV. Captum oppidum est cum ingenti præda. Quam-
35 quam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in cædibus vix ullum discrimen ætatis ira fecerat et captivi militum præda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum ven-

ditarum aliquantum pecuniæ redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quam cœptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse, quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quæ si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius, Tib. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius, Tib. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non cœptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Tib. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam quum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

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XVI. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam retulerunt, omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul mæror patres misericordiaeque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si jam ad portas hostis esset, ut, tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati, trepidarent magis quam consulerent. Nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremq; secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem unquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos Cor- sosque et Istros atque Illyrios lacesse magis quam exerce- cuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum; Pœnum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo assuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis Iberum transire, trahere se- cum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, concitum avidas

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semper armorum Gallicas gentes; cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro mœnibus Romanis esse.

XVII. Nominatæ jam antea consulibus provinciæ erant, tum sortiri jussi; Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa
5 cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretæ legiones, et socium quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum millia sunt scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta millia peditum, quattuor millia et quadringenti equi-
10 tes: naves ducentæ viginti quinqueres, celoces viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent juberent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; ejusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita, atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret, quod bellum populus Romanus jussisset.
15 Inter consules ita copię divisæ: Sempronio datæ legiones duæ—ea quaterna millia erant peditum et treceni equites—et sociorum sexdecim millia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longæ centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Tib. Sem-
20 pronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Pœnum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse cum haud invalido præsidio in Galliam mittebatur. Navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta
25 quinqueres datæ—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant—et duæ Romanæ legiones cum suo justo equitatu et quattuordecim millibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem millia sociorum peditum, mille
30 equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

XVIII. His ita comparatis, ut omnia justa ante bellum fierent, legatos majores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Æmili-
um, C. Licinium, Q. Bæbium, in Africam mittunt ad
35 percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum,

ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, quum senatus datus esset, et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: “præceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, quum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis: ceterum hæc legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior: tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur, nunc ab nobis et confessio culpæ exprimitur, et, ut a confessis, res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quærendum censeam, sed utrum jure an injuria. Nostra enim hæc quæstio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per fœdus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum fœdus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo quum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis, necdum enim erant socii vestri, cautum est. At enim eo fœdere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici; vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum fœdus icit, quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi jussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri; itaque aliud de integro fœdus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent fœdera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut jussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis fœdus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Iberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.” Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, “hic,” inquit, “vobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet, sumite.” Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret, utrum vellet, subelamatum est. Et quum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt, et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

XIX. Hæc directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli

magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est, quam de fœderum jure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid fœdus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore fœdere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, quum in Lutatii fœdere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset: in Hasdrubalis fœdere nec exceptum tale quidquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit fœdus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quidquam mutaretur? Quamquam, et si priore fœdere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis: nam neque additum erat "iis qui tunc essent," nec "ne qui postea assumerentur;" et quum assumere novos liceret socios, quis æquum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Carthaginensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem, aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicuti iis Romæ imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in societatem pellicerent aut averterent a Pœnis, trajecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia tædebat imperii Punici, multos trans Iberum populos ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ erexerunt. Inde est ventum ad Volcianos, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit: "quæ verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos uti vestram Carthaginensium amicitiae præponamus, quum, qui id fecerunt, Saguntinos crudelius, quam Pœnus hostis prodidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quæratís socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis, sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinæ erunt, ne quis fidei Romanæ aut societati confidat." Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum jussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniæ benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequidquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

XX. In iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod

armati, ita mos gentis erat, in concilium venerant. Quum
verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac
magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Pœno bellum Italiæ
inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus
cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus 5
majoribusque natu juvenus sedaretur; adeo stolidi impu-
densque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italiam trans-
mittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos
pro alienis populandos objicere. Sedato tandem fremitu,
responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum 10
esse neque Carthaginensium injuriam, ob quæ aut pro
Romanis aut adversus Pœnos sumant arma; contra ea
audire sese, gentis suæ homines agro finibusque Italiæ
pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera
indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliæ conciliis 15
dicta auditaque, nec hospitale quidquam pacatumve satis
prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis
inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, præoccupatos jam ante
ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem
ipsi satis mitem gentem fore, adeo ferocia atque indomita 20
ingenia esse, ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est,
principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniæ et
Galliæ populis, legati Romam redeunt, haud ita multo post
quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem
omnem in expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis 25
constante fama, jam Iberum Pœnos transmisisse.

XXI. Hannibal, Sagunto capto, Carthaginem novam
in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis, quæ Romæ quæque
Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum
sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis 30
prædæ, nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis mili-
tes convocat. “Credo ego vos,” inquit, “socii, et ipsos
cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniæ populis, aut finiendam
nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias
terras transferendum bellum; ita enim hæ gentes non 35
pacis solum sed etiam victoriæ bonis florebut, si ex aliis
gentibus prædam et gloriam quæremus. Itaque quum

longinqua a domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et quæ cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere vult, commeatum do. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut diis bene juvantibus bellum ingentis
5 gloriæ prædæque futurum incipiamus.” Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et jam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora
10 animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal, quum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens curas
15 simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaue Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido præsidio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa, maxime jaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut
20 Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispani, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati, stipendia facerent. Tredecim millia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cetratos misit in Africam, et funditores Baleares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis
25 gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini præsidio esse, partim distribui per Africam jubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis, quattuor millia conscripta delectæ juventutis, præsidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem jubet.

30 XXII. Neque Hispaniam negligendam ratus, atque ideo haud minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eum Africis maxime præsiidiis, peditum Afrorum
35 undecim millibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Balearibus quingentis. Ad hæc peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphœnices—mixtum Punicum Afris ge-

nus—quadringenti, et Numidæ Maurique accolæ Oceani ad mille octingenti, et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania,) ² ducenti equites, et, ne quid terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti quattuordecim. Classis præterea data ad tuendam maritimam oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea 5 tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duæ, triremes quinque; sed aptæ instructæque remigio triginta et duæ quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitūs redit. 10 Atque inde profectus præter Eto vissam urbem ad Iberum maritimamque oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo juvenem divina specie, qui se ab Jove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur, neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam 15 circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum, deinde cura ingenii humani, quum, quidnam id esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitare animo, temperare oculis nequivisse eum; vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri, ac post in se- 20 qui cum fragore cæli nimbum. Tum, quæ moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quærentem audisse, vastitatem Italiæ esse; pergeret porro ire, nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata in occulto esse.

XXIII. Hoc visu lætus tripartito Iberum copias tra- 25 jecit, præmissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum Iberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniæ, quæ subjecta Pyrenæis montibus 30 est, subegit, oræque huic omni præfecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quæ Hispanias Galliis jungunt, in potestate essent. Decem millia peditum Hannoni ad præsidium obtinendæ regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenæum saltum traduci exercitus est cœptus, rumorque per bar- 35 baros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria millia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non

tam bello motos quam longinquitate viæ insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem millia hominum domos remisit, quos 5 et ipse gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

XXIV. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenæum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiæ bellum in- 10 ferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenæum Hispanos fama erat præsidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum 15 misit, colloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus faciliior esset; nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se lætum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum; hospitem enim se Galliæ, non hostem advenisse, 20 nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem hæc. Ut vero reguli Gallorum, castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis, haud gravanter ad Pœnum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos præter Ruscinonem oppidum 25 transmiserunt.

XXV. In Italiam interim nihil ultra, quam Iberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, quum, perinde ac si Alpes jam transisset, Boii sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres 30 in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas ægre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi 35 triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffusi Placentiæ mœnibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud du-

bium est: pro C. Servilio et M. Annio Q. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinæ 5 quum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis assideret muris, simulari cœptum de pace agi; evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra jus modo gentium sed violata etiam, quæ data 10 in id tempus erat, fide, comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Quum hæc de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina præsidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius prætor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvæ tunc circa viam erant, 15 plerisque incultis; ibi inexplorato profectus, in insidias præcipitatus, multaque cum cæde suorum ægre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita; et, quia Gallis ad tentanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter 20 deinde de integro cœptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvæ intratæ, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, 25 ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium 30 tutabantur.

XXVI. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium prætorem cum una legione Romana et quinque millibus sociorum, delectu novo a consule con- 35 scriptis, auxilium ferre Manlio jubent, qui sine ullo certamine, abscesserant enim metu hostes, Tannetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius, in locum ejus, quæ missa cum prætore erat, transcripta legione nova, profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus, præter oram Etruriæ Ligurumque et inde Saluviûm montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum
5 ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit—castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenæos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis reffectis ab jactatione maritima
10 militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliariis Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes præmittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, jam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validæ; colunt autem circa utramque ripam
15 Rhodani; sed, diffusi citeriore agro arceri Pœnum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolæ fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suæ tenuerant, simul pellicit donis ad
20 naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque; simul et ipsi trajici exercitum levarique quamprimum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes
25 cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites, simul copia materiæ simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquæ et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

30 XXVII. Jamque omnibus satis comparatis ad trajiciendum, terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes; quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei jubet,
35 et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime trajecto amni, circumducere agmen, ut, quum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde

millia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvæ insulæ circum-
fusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto
alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim cæsa materia ra-
tesque fabricatæ, in quibus equi virique et alia onera
trajicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole, in utres vestimen- 5
tis conjectis, ipsi cætris superpositis incubantes flumen
tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus junctis trajectus,
castris prope flumen positus, nocturno itinere atque operis
labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad
consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti 10
ex loco prodito fumo significant, transisse et haud procul
abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset,
dat signum ad trajiciendum. Jam paratas aptatasque
habebat pedes lintres. Equites fere propter equos nantes
navium agmen, ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis, 15
parte superiore transmittens, tranquillitatem infra traji-
cientibus lintribus præbebat. Equorum pars magna nantes
loris a puppibus trahebantur, præter eos, quos instratos
frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui
essent, imposuerant in naves. 20

+ XXVIII. Galli occursant in ripam cum variis ululati-
bus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita
vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam ex adverso terrebat
tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore
vario nautarum et militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere 25
impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa trajicientes suos
hortabantur. Jam satis paventes adverso tumultu terri-
bilior ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis;
mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e
navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente, et ab 30
tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque
vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime
iter, perrumpunt, trepidique in vicos passim suos diffu-
giunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium trajectis, sper-
nens jam Gallicos tumultus, castra locat. 35

Elephantorum trajiciendorum varia consilia fuisse cre-
do; certe variata memoria actæ rei. Quidam congregatis

ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, quum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque tenentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam
5 rapiente. Ceterum magis constat ratibus trajectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, a terra in amnem porrexerunt; quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte
10 superiore ripæ religatam pontis in modum humo injecta constraverunt, ut belluæ audacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis æque lata, longa pedes centum, ad trajiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; et, quum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam, prægredien-
15 tibus feminis, acti, ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut
20 ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, quum, soluta ab ceteris rate, in altum raperentur; ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam sævientes quidam in flumen, sed pondere
25 ipso stabiles, dejectis rectoribus, quærendis pedetentim vadis in terram evasere.

XXIX. Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantæ copiæ essent et quid pararent.
30 Huic alæ equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Prælium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam præter multa vulnera cædes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis jam admodum
35 fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli,

ut summæ rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. Ut, re ita gesta, ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis cœptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet; et Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet iter, an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a præsentī certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore affirmantes, integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam aggrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum obliterata memoria superioris belli; sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

XXX. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata concione, varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit; per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et terræ, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginensium essent; indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Iberum trajecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, quum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenæum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi tractum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiæ sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenæi jugis; nullas profecto terras cælum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes. Pervias paucis esse—et exercitibus?

- Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pennis sublimē elatos Alpes transgressos; ne majores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiæ cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus sæpe agminibus cum liberis ac conjugibus, migrantium
5 modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato, nihil secum præter instrumenta belli portanti, quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romanam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quidquam adeo
10 asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea—quæ adiri posse Pœnus desperet? Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties ab se victæ, aut itineris finem sperent campum interjacentem Tiberi ac mœnibus Romanis.
- 15 XXXI. His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare jubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliæ petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, prius-
20 quam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi confluent in unum; mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges,
25 gens jam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat; regni certamine ambigebant fratres; major, et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et cœtu juniorum, qui jure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Hujus seditionis peropportuna disceptatio
30 quum ad Hannibalem delata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium majori restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adjutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes præparari cgebant. Sedatis Hannibal
35 certaminibus Allobrogum, quum jam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit

in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est; nam, quum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque 5 iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites, et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est, ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet. Et tum, forte imbribus auctus, ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, quum super cetera trepidatione 10 ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

XXXII. P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere postquam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum 15 progressos assecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendentem ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem 20 misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem; ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat, exercitu Italiam defensurus. 25

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in majus vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo 30 visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtae, et informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaue torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaliaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, 35 si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal con-

sistere signa jussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca præmissis, postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia præruptaque, quam extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum
5 lingua moribusque abhorrentes, quum se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, edoctus, interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud, quam
10 quod parabatur consumpto, quum eodem quo constiterant loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis, impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum,
15 ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit, iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenerant, consedit.

XXXIII. Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen reliquum incedere cæpit. Jam montani signo dato ex
20 castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, quum repente conspiciunt alios, arce occupata sua, super caput imminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul objecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tu-
25 multu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adjecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem fore rati, perversis rupibus, juxta invia ac devia assueti, decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Pœni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi
30 quoque tendente, ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Et equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem in-
35 gentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent. Multosque turba, quum præcipientes diruptæque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis dejecit,

quosdam et armatos: sed ruinæ maxime modo jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quæ quamquam fœda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret; deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit, periculumque esse, ne exutum 5 impedimentis exercitum nequidquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco, et, quum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur; nec per otium modo, 10 sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, viculosque circumjectos capit, et captivo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et quia nec montanis primo percussis nec loco magnopere impediiebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viæ confecit. 15

XXXIV. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto, sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes 20 amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Pœnorum, itaque obedienter imperata facturos, commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne quum respondisset, 25 obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis, et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces eorum sequitur; primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitusque omnia incedebat. Ubi in angustio- 30 rem viam et parte altera subjectam jugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte, ab tergo coorti, comminus eminens petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat; in eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi 35 firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi

ac prope perniciem ventum est: nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quidquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua montani inter-
 5 rupto medio agmine viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

XXXV. Postero die, jam segnius intercurrentibus barbaris, junctæ copiæ, saltusque haud sine clade, majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus.
 10 Inde montani pauciores jam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant, modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artas præcipientes vias magna mora age-
 15 bantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen præbebant.

Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est, per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus, aut, ubi
 20 fides iis non esset, temere initæ valles a conjectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in jugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; jumenta quoque aliquot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis tædio tot malorum nivis etiam
 25 casus, occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adjecit. Per omnia nive opplata, quum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emereret, prægressus signa Hannibal in promontorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus
 30 erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostendit subjectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos; mœniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiæ modo, sed etiam urbis Romanæ. Cetera plana, proclivia fore, uno aut summum altero prælio arcem et caput Italiæ in manu ac potestate
 35 habituros. Procedere inde agmen cœpit, jam nihil ne hostibus quidem præter parva furta per occasionem tentantibus. Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut

pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via præceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum titubassent, hædere afflictis vestigio suo, alique super alios, et jumenta et homines, occiderent. 5

XXXVI. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiore rupem, atque ita rectis saxis, ut ægre expeditus miles tentabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese possêt. Natura locus jam ante præceps recenti lapsu terræ in pedum mille admodum altitudinem 10 abruptus erat. Ibi quum velut ad finem viæ equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quæ res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum: haud dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret 15 agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit: nam, quum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicæ altitudinis esset, molli nec peraltæ facile pedes ingredientium insistebant: ut vero tot hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis 20 nivis ingrediebantur. Tetra ibi luctatio erat, ut a lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium, et in prono citius pede se fallente, ut, seu manibus in assurgendo seu genu se adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent: nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quis- 25 quam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Jumenta secabant interdum etiam tamen infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa jactandis gravius in connitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque, velut pedica capta, hæerent in dura et alta con- 30 creta glacie.

XXXVII. Tandem nequidquam jumentis atque hominibus fatigatis, castra in jugo posita, ægerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato, tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via 35 esse poterat, milites ducti, quum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatisque struem

ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, quum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut
5 non jumenta solum sed elephantum etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum, jumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles et apricos quosdam colles habent, rivosque prope silvas et jam hu-
10 mano cultu digniora loca. Ibi jumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data triduo. Inde ad planum descensum, et jam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

XXXVIII. Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum
15 est, quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantæ copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum millia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt: qui minimum, viginti
20 millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; cum his octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum adducta in Italiam—magis affluxisse verisimile est, et ita quidam
25 auctores sunt;—ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse. E Taurinis, quæ Galliæ proxima gens erat, in Italiam digressum quum inter omnes constet, eo magis
30 miror ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Pœnino—atque inde nomen ei jugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis jugum dicere transisse: qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxerint; nec veri-
35 simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera, utique quæ ad Pœninum ferunt, obsæpta gentibus semigermanis fuissent; neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet,

ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, norunt nomen inditum, sed ab eo, quem, in summo sacratum vertice, Pœninum montani appellant.

XXXIX. Peroportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximæ genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. 5 Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat; otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque, squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, 10 quum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed quum Placentiam consul venit, jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal, Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis 15 ejus, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnat; et junxisset sibi, non metu solum sed etiam voluntate, Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventus consulis oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quæ pars sequenda esset, 20 Gallos præsentem secuturos ratus. Jam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita jam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos jam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipi- 25 onem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, præstantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci trajiciendarum Alpium et effectum. 30

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum trajicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus:

XL. "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, 35 quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui

equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniæ provinciæ scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Pœnos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca
 10 verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli præmia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis
 15 illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos, duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, cum plures [pæne] perierint quam
 20 supersint, plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Effigies, immo umbræ hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc præusti
 25 artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi; cum hoc equite, cum hoc peditate pugnaturi estis, reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem, habebitis. Ac nihil magis vereor quam ne cui, vos quum pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem
 30 videantur; sed ita forsitan decuit, cum fœderum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos, sine ulla humana ope, committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.

XLI. Non vereor, ne quis me hæc vestri adhortandi
 35 causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam provinciam meam, quo jam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem

consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, quum præterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam hujus hostis in terram egressus, præmisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri 5 prælio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia assequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxime potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpi- 10 um huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum quum declinarem certamen, improvisus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis ejus, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri juvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Ægates pugna- 15 verint insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicensis denariis æstimatos emisistis; et utrum Hannibal hic sit æmulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus; quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitare, respiceret profecto, si non patriam 20 victam, domum certe patremque et fœdera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui jussus ab consule nostro præsidium deduxit ab Eryce; qui graves impositas victis Carthaginien- sibus leges fremens mærensque accepit; qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque 25 vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos, ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere, licuit victri- 30 cem classem in Africam trajicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere. Veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelæ deinde nostræ duximus, quum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impertitis, furiosum juvenem 35 sequentes, oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute

esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum; nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum
5 superant, comparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unusquisque se non corpus suum, sed conjugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intu-
10 eri manus senatum populumque Romanum; qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore."

XLII. Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal, rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato
15 ad spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis, interrogare interpretem jussit, equis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Quum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque
20 poscerent, et dejecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret. Ut cujusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter ejusdem modo
25 conditionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

XLIII. Quum sic aliquot spectatis paribus affectos dimisisset, concione inde advocata, ita apud eos locutus
30 fertur: "si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites. Neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae conditionis erat. Ac nescio an majora vincula majoresque necessi-
35 tates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra laevaue duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus; circa Padus amnis,

major Padus ac violentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitæ. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quæ necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, præmia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora 5 homines ne ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam, parentibus nostris ereptas, nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent; quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis do- 10 minis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem agite, cum diis bene juvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniæ Celtiberiæque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est jam opulenta vos ac ditia 15 stipendia facere et magna operæ pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit, hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis 20 victoriam fore; sæpe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit, et inclyti populi regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam, dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortu- 25 na taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum, per tot ferocissimos Hispaniæ et Galliæ populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa æstate cæso, victo, circumssesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. An 30 me in prætorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo majus est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis 35 Pœnos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi

æstimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cujus non ante oculos ipse sæpe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me
5 millies donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

XLIV. Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, genero-
10 sissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos Carthaginienses, quum ob patriam tum ob iram justissimam pugnatu-
Inferimus bellum, infestisque signis descendimus in Ita-
liam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis,
15 quanto major spes, major est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit præterea et stimulat animos dolor, injuria, indignitas; ad supplicium depoposcerunt me du-
cem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnas-
setis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus affecturi fuerunt. Cru-
20 delissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit; cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habéamus, se modum imponere æquum censet: circumscribit inclu-
ditque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non exce-
damus, neque eos quos statuit terminos observat. “Ne
25 transieris Iberum, ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis.” Ad Iberum est Saguntum. “Nusquam te vestigio move-
ris!” Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam adimis? Etiam Hispanias? Et inde cessero:
in Africam transcendes. Transcendes autem dico? Duos
30 consules hujus anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil unquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindicaremus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respectum habent, quod sua terra, suus ager per-
tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse
35 est fortibus viris esse, et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in prælio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere.

Si hoc bene fixum omnibus destinatum in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum enim telum ad vincendum homini ab diis immortalibus acrius datum est."

XLV. Iis adhortationibus quum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum 5 jungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt; Pœnus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit: Gallis parci quam maxime jubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto, traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque millia passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque prope Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satis dictum præmonitumque ad 15 cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad concionem certa præmia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui 20 sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cujus suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. 25 Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum læva manu, dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Jovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset, et secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes—velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque 30 acceptis—id moræ, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati, prælium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

XLVI. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis: nam et lupo intraverat castra, laniatisque obviis ipse intactus 35 evaserat, et examen apum in arbore prætorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu jacu-

latoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantæ et cujus generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo
5 cernebant, densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorumque oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen, et ad prælium sese expediebant: Scipio jaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit, in subsidiis:
10 Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem; inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut
15 desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, jam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna iverat, donec Numidæ, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercurso tum primum
20 pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erit juvenis penes quem perfecti hujusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Pœnisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa jaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidæ invaserunt. Alius confertus equitatus consulem in
25 medium acceptum, non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protēgens, in castra, nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo, reduxit. Servati consulis decus Cœlius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama ob-
30 tinuit.

XLVII. Hoc primum cum Hannibale prælium fuit; quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse, et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima
35 nocte, jussis militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus junxerat flumen, nondum resolutis, sine tumultu atque

insectatione hostis, copias trajiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sexcentos moratorum in citiore ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam 5 aquam labente. Cœlius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transnasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis ejus vix fidem fece- 10 rint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse verisimile est, ut jam Hispanos omnes inflati transvexerint utres; et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerint, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores 15 sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate jungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites Hispanorum expeditos præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, trajicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei 20 unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex millia a Placentia castra communit, et postero die, in conspectu hostium acie directa, potestatem pugnae fecit.

XLVIII. Insequenti nocte cædes in castris Romanis, 25 tumultu tamen quam re major, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos Poenus benigne allocutus, et spe ingentium donorum accensos, in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popu- 30 larium animos dimisit. Scipio, cædem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut injecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium, jam in 35 loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal pri-

mum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, turbasset utique
 novissimum agmen, ni aviditate prædæ in vacua Romana
 castra Numidæ devertissent. Ibi dum, perscrutantes loca
 omnia castrorum, nullo satis digno moræ pretio tempus
 5 terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et quum jam trans-
 gressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexis-
 sent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interce-
 ptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via jactanti ultra
 patiens, et collegam—jam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia
 10 audierat—ratus exspectandum, locum, qui prope flumen
 tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec
 procul inde Hannibal quum consedisset, quantum victoria
 equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quæ per hostium
 agros euntem, nusquam præparatis commeatibus, major in
 15 dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum fru-
 menti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi quum
 vim pararent, spes facta proditiōis; nec sane magno præ-
 tio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brūndisino præ-
 fecto præsidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium.
 20 Id horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In capti-
 vos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama clementiæ in principio
 rerum colligeretur, nihil sævitum est.

XLIX. Quum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum,
 interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiæ imminentes, et a
 25 Sempronio consule, et ante adventum ejus, terra marique
 res gestæ. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad
 depopulandam oram Italiæ a Carthaginiensibus missæ;
 novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres
 in fretum avertit æstus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana
 30 duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missæ,
 qui tum forte Messanæ erat, consulem Romanum opperi-
 ens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum
 deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, præter viginti naves,
 cujus ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et tri-
 35 ginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos
 veteres socios; Lilybæi occupandi præcipuam curam esse;
 credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disjecti forent, eam

quoque classem ad Ægates insulas dejectam. Hæc, sicut audita erant, rex M. Æmilio prætori, cujus Sicilia provincia erat, præscribit, monetque ut Lilybæum firmo teneret præsidio. Extemplo et circa a prætore ad civitates missi legati tribunique, qui suos ad curam custodiæ intenderent; 5 ante omnia Lilybæum teneri, ad paratum belli edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, et, ubi signum datum esset, ne quis moram conscendendi faceret; perque omnem oram, qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem. Simul itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium 10 erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybæum, præsensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat, et sublatis armamentis veniebant, extemplo signum datum ex speculis, et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in 15 naves consensum. Pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi 20 illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset, exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detractavere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute. 25

L. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle; contra eludere Pœnus, et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus affatim instructam classem, ita inopem 30 milite habebant; et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum, et paucitas illis minuit; extemplo septem naves Punicæ circumventæ, fugam ceteræ ceperunt. Mille et 35 septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautæque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis,

una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam—nondum gnaris ejus qui Messanæ erant—Tib. Sempronius consul Messanam venit.
5 Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem armatam ornatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in prætoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum; statum deinde insulæ et Carthaginiensium co-
10 nata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum juvenis adjuvisset, eo senem adjuturum, frumentum vestimentaue sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis præbiturum; grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam vo-
15 lentibus novas res fore. Ob hæc consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybæum classe peteret; et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybæum fusasque et captas hostium naves, accipere.

LI. A Lilybæo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso,
20 relictoque prætore ad tuendam Siciliæ oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quæ a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, trajecit; advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, præfectus præsidii, cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum, oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lily-
25 bæum, captivique et a consule et a prætore, præter insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, trajecit, nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus.
30 Jam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiæ oram, depulatoque Viboniensi agro, urbem etiam terrebant. Repententi Siciliam consuli exscensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteræque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegæ
35 ferret auxilium, missæ traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum supero mari misit, Sexto Pomponio legato cum viginti

quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiæ tuendam attribuit, M. Æmilio prætori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliæ rebus, decem navibus oram Italiæ legens, Ariminum pervenit; inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Tre- 5
biam flumen collegæ conjungitur.

LII. Jam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum viri-um erat, Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri prælio uno et 10
vulnere suo minutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant, in duorum præpotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. 15
Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, æquo satis, Pœnus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram simul ut præda militem aleret, duo millia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem 20
deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas jussit. Egentes ope Galli, quum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus injuriæ ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consulem missis auxilium Romanorum terræ ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec 25
causa nec tempus agendæ rei placebat; suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate abolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos quosque qui eguissent ope defensos cen- 30
sebat. Tum collega cunctante equitatum suum, mille peditum jaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et incompósitos, ad hoc graves præda plerosque, quum inopinatos invasissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque ac fugam usque 35
ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsī rursus subsidio suorum prælium restituere:

varia inde pugna sequentes cedentesque quum ad extremum æquassent certamen, major tamen quam hostium Romanorum fama victoriæ fuit.

LIII. Ceterum nemini omnium major justiorque quam
5 ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse; restitutos ac re-
fectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse præter colle-
gam qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum, animo magis
quam corpore ægrum, memoria vulneris aciem ac tela
10 horrere: sed non esse cum ægro senescendum; quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginien-
sium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse: non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Iberum
15 Hispaniam peti sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos: "quantum ingemiscant," inquit, "patres nostri circa mœnia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra; Pœnum,
20 quod inter Alpes Apenninumque agri sit, suæ ditionis fecisse!" Hæc assidens ægro collegæ, hæc in prætorio prope concionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendæ gloriæ, dum æger
25 collega erat; itaque nequidquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propinquum certamen milites jubet.

Hannibal quum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quidquam consules acturos. Quum alterius ingenium, fama prius
30 deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum prædatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendæ rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cujus ne quod prætermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex
35 ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Quum

ob hæc taliaque speraret propinquum certamen, et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli—ad ea exploranda, quæ vellent, tutiores, quia in utriusque castris militabant—paratos pugnae esse Romanos retulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Pœnus coepit.

5

LIV. Erat in medio rivus peraltis utrimque clausus ripis, et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, “hic erit locus,” Magoni fratri ait, 10 “quem teneas; delige centenos viros ex omni peditate atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est.” Ita prætorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. “Robora virorum cerno,” inquit Hannibal; “sed uti numero etiam, non animis 15 modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligit; Mago locum monstrabit quem insideatis; hostem cæcum ad has belli artes habetis.” Ita mille equitibus Magoni, mille peditibus dimissis, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen 20 obequitare jubet hostium portis, jaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, injecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Hæc mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque præceptum ut prandere omnes juberent, armatos deinde instratisque 25 equis signum expectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatem ferox, ea parte virium, deinde sex millia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum jam ante consilio, avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumæ 30 tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis, propinquitatem etiam fluminum ac paludum prægelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid auræ fluminis appropin- 35 quabant, afflabat acrior frigoris vis; ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pecto-

ribus tenuis, aucta nocturno imbri—tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et, procedente jam die, fame etiam deficere.

- 5 LV. Hannibalis interim miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis, oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso, et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est; alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baleares locat ante signa, levem
10 armaturam, octo ferme millia hominum; dein graviores armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat. In cornibus circumfudit decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effusos sequentes equites, quum ab resistentibus subito
15 Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato, revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti millia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini viginti; auxilia præterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. His copiis concursum est. Prælium a Balearibus ortum
20 est; quibus quum majore robore legiones obsisterent, deductæ propere in cornua leves armaturæ sunt, quæ res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur: nam quum vix jam per se resisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia, et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt
25 insuper velut nube jaculorum a Balearibus conjecta; ad hoc elephanti, eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo, sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentes Pœnus paulo ante curatis cor-
30 poribus in prælium attulerat; contra jejuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum peditum solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baleares pulso equite jaculabantur in latera, et elephanti jam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant, et
35 Mago Numidæque, simul latebras eorum improvida præterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis

mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime præter spem omnium adversus elephantos; eos velites ad id ipsum locati verrutis conjectis et avertere, et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

LVI. Trepidantèsque et prope jam in suos consternatos 5
media acie in extremam, ad sinistrum cornu, adversus Gallos auxiliares agi jussit Hannibal; ii extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam, quo novus terror additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque quum jam in orbem pugnarent, decem millia ferme hominum, quum alia evadere 10 nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quæ Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti cæde hostium perrupere; et quum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque præ imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes 15 partes eruptiones factæ; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis, Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flu- 20 men fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et jumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Pœnis flumen Trebia fuit; et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix lætitiâ victoriæ senti- 25 rent; itaque nocte insequenti, quum præsidium castrorum, et quod reliquum ex magna parte militum erat, ratibus Trebiam trajicerent, aut nihil sentire, obstrepente pluvia, aut, quia jam moveri nequibant præ lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Pœnis, tacito 30 agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado trajectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

LVII. Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut jam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis ho- 35 stem venturum, nec quidquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo portis mœnibusque vim arcerent; uno consule ad Ticinum

victo, altero ex Sicilia revocato, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis—quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quæ arcessantur? Ita territis Sempromius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad prædandum hostium equites, audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in præsentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit; creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

- 10 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, quæque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque; omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit, et opere
15 magno munitum et valido firmatum præsidio; ejus castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, quum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus, non fefellit vigiles; tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiæ quoque audire
20 tur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat, jussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre interim prælium commissum, in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus injecto defensum egregie præsidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta, et vix
25 dum satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat munitum; inde locum frequentaverant accolæ mixti undique ex finitimis populis; et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Hujus generis multitudo,
30 fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam præsidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt; et, quum ex altera parte nihil præter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque millia hominum
35 num a paucis fusa. Postero die, deditione facta, præsidium intra mœnia accepere; jussique arma tradere quum dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tam-

quam vi captam urbem diriperent; neque ulla, quæ in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, prætermissa clades est; adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanæ superbix editum in miseros exemplum est. Hæ fuere hibernæ expeditiones Hannibalis.

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LVIII. Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adjuncturus. Transeuntem Apenninum adeo atrox 10 adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope fœditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber quum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra enitentes vertice intorti affligebantur, constitere; dein, quum jam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi 15 a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono cælum strepere, et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso imbre, quum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprehensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum 20 est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit; nam nec explicare quidquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, quum super gelida montium juga concreta esset, tantum nivossæ grandinis dejecit, 25 ut, omnibus omissis, procumberent homines, tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum jumentorumque strage quum se quisque extollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torrentibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant; 30 deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos, et raris locis ignis fieri est cœptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere; multi homines, multa jumenta, elephantique quoque ex iis, qui prælio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem 35 absumpti.

LIX. Digressus Apennino retro ad Placentiam castra

movit, et ad decem millia progressus consedit; postero
 die duodecim millia peditum, quinque equitum adversus
 hostem ducit. Nec Sempronius consul—jam enim redie-
 rat ab Roma—detractavit certamen; atque eo die tria
 5 millia passuum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die in-
 gentibus animis, vario eventu, pugnatum est. Primo con-
 cursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent
 solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox
 castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propu-
 10 gnatoribus in vallo portisque positus, ceteros confertos in
 media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum
 spectare jubet. Jam nona ferme diei hora erat, quum Ro-
 manus, nequidquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes
 erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi
 15 Hannibal accepit, laxatamque pugnam et recessum a ca-
 stris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra lævaque emissis in
 hostem, ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit.
 Pugna raro magis ulla ea et utriusque partis pernicie cla-
 rior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivi-
 20 set; nox accensum ingentibus animis prælium diremit.
 Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam cædes; et sicut æquata
 ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra
 parte sexcentis plus peditibus, et dimidium ejus equitum
 cecidit; sed major Romanis quam pro numero jactura
 25 fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quin-
 que et præfecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum
 eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam
 concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias in-
 tercepti duo quæstores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius,
 30 cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis
 senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis
 pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

LX. Dum hæc in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio
 in Hispaniam cum classè et exercitu missus, quum ab ostio
 35 Rhodani profectus Pyrenæosque montes circumvectus Em-
 poriiis appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a
 Lacetanis, omnem oram usque ad Iberum flumen, partim

renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis, Romanæ ditionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiæ fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores jam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parata est, validæque 5 aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptæ sunt. Hannonis eis Iberum provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis ejus præsidium; itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differen- 10 dum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit; sex millia hostium cæsa, duo capta cum præsidio castrorum; nam et castra 15 expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur; et Scissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum præda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere, non ejus modo exercitus qui victus erat, sed et 20 ejus, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenæum relictis.

- LXI. Priusquam certa hujus cladis fama accideret, transgressus Iberum Hasdrubal cum octo millibus peditum, 25 mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Scissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios, vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundæ res negligentiam 30 creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna cæde, majore fuga ad naves compellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Iberum sese recepit. Et Scipio, raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, quum in paucos præfectos navium animad- 35 vertisset, præsidio Tarracone modico relicto, Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo, Hasdrubal aderat;

et, Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat; excito deinde Scipione hibernis, hostico cis Iberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio, 5 relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem quum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum, urbem, quæ caput ejus populi erat, circumscedit, intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes, pecunia etiam multatos, in jus ditionemque recepit. 10 Inde in Ausetanos prope Iberum, socios et ipsos Pœnorum, procedit, atque, urbe eorum obsessa, Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul jam urbe, quum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis; cæsa ad duodecim millia, exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffu- 15 gere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnanti- bus hiems tutabatur; triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta jacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquoties coniectis, ab hoste etiam tutamentum 20 fuerit. Postremo, quum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

LXII. Romæ ac circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem 25 animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt; in quis ingenuum infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse; et foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse, atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese dejecisse; et navium speciem de cælo afful- 30 sisse; et ædem Spei, quæ est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam; et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse, et corvum in ædem Junonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinario conse- disse; et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos, nec cum ullo congressos; et 35 in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse; et Cære sortes extenuatas; et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri jussi;

quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiæque majores, quibus editum est, diis cæsæ, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium ad Junonis 5 portatum est; et signum æneum matronæ Junoni in Aventino dedicaverunt; et lectisternium Cære, ubi sortes attenuatæ erant, imperatum; et supplicatio Fortunæ in Algidio; Romæ quoque et lectisternium Juvēntati et supplicatio ad ædem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo 10 circa omnia pulvinaria indicta; et Genio majores hostiæ cæsæ quinque; et C. Atilius Serranus prætor vota suscipere jussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Hæc procurata vota ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos. 15

LXIII. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui cæ legiones, quæ Placentiæ hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Huic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat, memori veterum 20 certaminum cum patribus, quæ tribunus plebis et quæ postea consul, prius de consulatu qui abrogabatur, deinde de triumpho habuerat; invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum, atque, uno patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio, tulerat, 25 ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res, per summam contentionem acta, invidiam apud nobilitatem suam 30 sori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob hæc ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere, privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, 35 novam insuper iram infestis jam ante patribus movit; non cum senatu modo, sed jam cum diis immortalibus C. Fla-

minium bellum gerere; consulem ante inauspicato factum
revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paru-
isse, nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollem-
nem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magi-
5 stratus Jovis optimi maximi templum adiret; ne senatum
invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque; ne
Latinas indiceret, Jovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in
monte faceret; ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad
vota nuncupanda, paludatis inde cum lictoribus in provin-
10 ciam iret; lixæ modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus pro-
fectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa
solum vertisset; magis pro majestate videlicet imperii
Arimini quam Romæ magistratum initurum, et in diversorio
hospitali quam apud penates suos prætextam sumptu-
15 rum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt,
et cogendum omnibus prius præsentem in deos hominesque
fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret.
In eam legationem—legatos enim mitti placuit—Q. Teren-
tius et M. Antistius, profecti, nihilo magis eum moverunt,
20 quam priore consulatu litteræ moverant ab senatu missæ:
paucos post dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitu-
lus jam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese quum proripu-
isset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit; fuga procul
etiam major apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursa-
25 tio fuit; id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum.
Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule,
duabus a C. Atilio prætore acceptis, in Etruriam per
Apennini tramites exercitus duci est cœptus.

LIBER VICESIMUS SECUNDUS.

I. JAM ver appetebat, quum Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequidquam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos prædæ populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis viderent, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque sæpe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis. 10

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romæ idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de republica retulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere:—quod enim illi justum imperium, quod auspiciū esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata; in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam 25

ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum; et Præneste arduos lapides cœlo cecidisse; et Arpis parmas in cœlo visas pignantemque cum luna solem; et Capenæ duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Cæretes sanguine mixtas
5 fluxisse, fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis; et Antii metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse; et Faleriis cœlum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas, unamque excidisse ita scriptam, “Mavors telum suum concutit;” et per idem tempus Romæ signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuæ speciem cœli ardentis fuisse lunæque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita; capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et
15 gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. Iis, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis, auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione patres consuluit; decretum ut ea prodigia partim majoribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia
20 pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, quum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi esse dii divinis carminibus præfarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Junoni Minervæque ex argento dona
25 darentur, et Junoni reginæ in Aventino Junonique Sospitæ Lanuvii majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur; matronæque pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni reginæ in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret; quin et ut libertinæ et ipsæ, unde Feroniæ
30 donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent; hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt: postremo Decembri jam mense ad ædem Saturni Romæ immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum—et eum lectum senatores straverunt—et con-
35 vivium publicum; ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

II. Dum consul placandis Romæ dis habendoque delectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia jam Flaminium consulem Arretium prævenisse fama erat, quum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robor exercitus, admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; novissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ—ut est mollis ad talia gens—dila-berentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo præirent duces, per præaltas fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti pæne limo immergentesque se tamen signa sequebantur; Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque assurgere ex voraginibus poterant, aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa ægre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis tædio animis procubuissent, inter jumenta et ipsa jacentia passim morientes. Maximeque omnium vigiliæ conficiebant per quadriduum, jam et tres noctes toleratæ. Quum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aquas sarcinis insuper incumbabant; jumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret aqua, quærentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, æger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno humore palustrique coelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

III. Multis hominibus jumentisque fœde amissis quum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arretii mœnia esse. Consul is deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum

itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos, et cetera, quæ cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiæ fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, et non modo legum aut patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens; hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat; itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat; et, læva relicto hoste, Fæsulas petens, medio Etruriæ agro prædatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest, cædibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam jam Italiam vagari Pœnum, atque obsistente nullo, ad ipsa Romana mœnia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus, collegam exspectandum, ut conjunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa prædandi licentia hostem cohibendum; iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque quum dedisset, "immo Arretii ante mœnia sedeamus," inquit, "hic enim patria et penates sunt: Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam, vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana mœnia perveniat; nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint." Hæc simul increpans, quum ocus signa convelli juberet et ipse in equum insilisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut fœdo omine incipiendæ rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum, omni vi moliente signifero, convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium, "num litteras quoque," inquit, "ab sênatu

affers, quæ me rem gerere vetent? Abi nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus præ metu obtorpuerit." Incedere inde agmen cœpit primoribus—superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio—territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus læto ferocia ducis, quum spem magis 5 ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

IV. Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasimenumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime 10 montes Cortonenses Trasimenus subit; via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatium; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles assurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baleares ceteramque levem armaturam 15 post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumultis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu, clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato, postero die, vixdum satis certa luce, an- 20 gustiis superatis, postquam in patientiorem campum pandi agmen cœpit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput decepere insidiæ. Pœnus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus 25 dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucur- 30 rerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari cœptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies, aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

V. Consul, percussis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in re tre- 35 pida, impavidus, turbatos ordines—vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores—instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur;

et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare jubet; nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute, evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri, et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus
5 ferme periculi esse. Ceterum præ strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat; tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordinem miles et locum nosceret, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam, onerati magis his quam
10 tecti. Et erat in tanta calligine major usus aurium quam oculorum; ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque; alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati hærebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat
15 fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequidquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque, nullam, nisi in dextera ferroque, salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam,
20 et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobat, et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi
25 ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terræ, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

30 VI. Tres ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter. Circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est; eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant,
35 et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques—Ducario nomen erat—facie quoque nescitans, “consul en,” inquit, “hic est,” popularibus suis, “qui legiones nostras cecidit agros—

que et urbem est depopulatus! Jam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum fœde civium dabo;” subditisque calcaribus equo, per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit; obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat, consulem lancea transfixit. 5 Spoliare cupientem triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnæ partis fuga inde primum cœpit; et jam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant. Per omnia arta præruptaque velut cæci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii præcipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugæ deest, per prima 10 vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus humerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt; fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quæ ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut nequidquam fessi vada retro 15 ægerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium, quæ post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et, quum in tumulto quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum 20 armorum audientes, quæ fortuna pugnæ esset, neque scire nec perspicere præ calligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida jam luce montes campique perditas res stratumque ostendere fœde Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in 25 conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abripuerunt. Postero die, quum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire 30 cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quæ Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.

VII. Hæc est nobilis ad Trasimenum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim 35 millia Romanorum in acie cæsa sunt; decem millia, sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam, diversis itineribus urbem pe-

tiere; duo millia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea utrimque ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex cædes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, præterquam quod nihil haustum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium æqualem temporibus hujusce belli potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum, qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum quum sepeliri jussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romæ ad primum nuntium cladis ejus cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus; matronæ vagæ per vias, quæ repens clades allata, quæve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur; et quum frequentis concionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius prætor, "pugna," inquit, "magna victi sumus:" et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt, consulem cum magna parte copiarum cæsum; superesse paucos, aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas dispersiti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quæ cujusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas major prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique læta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circum fusos. Feminarum præcipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus; unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in conspectu ejus exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii

falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum prætores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut copiis quibus resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

5

VIII. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades; quattuor millia equitum, cum C. Centenio proprætoress missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule, in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasimenum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Ejus rei fama 10 varie homines affecit; pars occupatis majore ægritudine animis, levem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum jacturam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se æstimare, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum ægræ et 15 affectæ civitati quodcumque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil, quod aggravaret, pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium, jam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit; et quia et consul aberat, 20 a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, prodictatorem populus creavit. Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium 25 Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et præsidia disponderent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum; pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

30

IX. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde, quum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, conjectans ex unius coloniae haud nimis prospere tentatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset, in agrum 35 Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum præda, quam effuse avidi

atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via prælioque, magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili, affectus. Ubi satis quietis datum, præda ac popula-
 5 tionibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Prætutianum Hadrianum agrum, Marsos inde Mar-
 rucinosque et Pelignos devastat, circaque Arpos et Luce-
 riam proximam Apuliæ regionem. Cn. Servilius consul,
 levibus præliis cum Gallis actis et uno oppido ignobili
 10 expugnato, postquam de collegæ exercitusque cæde audi-
 vit, jam mœnibus patriæ metuens, ne abesset in discrimine
 extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magi-
 stratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, quum edocuis-
 15 set patres, plus negligentia cærimoniarum auspiciorumque
 quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flamini-
 o consule esse, quæque piacula iræ deum essent, ipsos deos
 consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur,
 nisi cum tetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros
 20 Sibyllinos adire juberentur. Qui, inspectis fatalibus li-
 bris, retulerunt patribus, quod ejus belli causa votum Mar-
 ti foret, id non rite factum, de integro atque amplius
 faciendum esse; et Jovi ludos magnos et ædes Veneri
 Erycinæ ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lecti-
 25 sterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum vovendum, si bel-
 latum prospere esset, resque publica in eodem, quo ante
 bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam
 Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Æmilium præto-
 rem, ex collegii pontificum sententia omnia ea ut mature
 30 fiant, curare jubet.

X. His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentu-
 lus pontifex maximus, consulente collegio prætorum, omni-
 um primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet;
 injussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in hæc verba
 35 populus: "velitis jubeatisne hæc sic fieri? Si res publica
 populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum,
 sicut velim eam, sic salva servata erit hisce duellis—quod

duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quæque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt—datum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quæque profana erunt, Jovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque jusserit; qui 5 faciet, quando volet, quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto; si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto; si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto: si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit; si atro die faxit insci- 10 ens, probe factum esto: si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto; si anteidea senatus populusque jusserit fieri ac faxit, eo populus solutus liber esto.” Ejusdem rei causa ludi magni voti æris trecentis triginta tribus millibus, trecentis triginta tribus, triente; præterea 15 bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta, supplicatumque iere cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectister- 20 nium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus; sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerant, Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianæ, quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum ædes votæ; Ve- 25 neri Erycinæ ædem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris edictum erat, ut is voveret, cujus maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti ædem T. Otacilius prætor vovit.

XI. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque de 30 publica dictator retulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet præterea ex civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac ped- tum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut e re- 35 publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adjecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit; iis, per magistrum equitum

scriptis, Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit; edictoquoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta; ex agris quoque demigrarent omnis regionis ejus, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis
5 prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset. Ipse, via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituique, quum ad Tiberim circa Oriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se prodeuntem, viatorem misit, qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad
10 dictatorem veniret. Qui quum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque, vetustate jam prope oblitos ejus imperii, fecisset, litteræ ab urbe allatæ sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes, a classe
15 Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque exemplo consul Ostiam proficisci jussus, navibusque, quæ ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ erat; liberi
20 tini etiam, quibus liberi essent et ætas militaris, in verba juraverant; ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi; alii, ut urbi præsiderent, relictæ.

XII. Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Præneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ
25 se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Pœnus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret; sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes, nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem suos Martios
30 animos Romanis, debellatumque concessumque propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Fla-

minio Sempronioque simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quæ-
sissent. Et prudentiam quidem, non vim, dictatoris ex-
templo timuit; constantiam haud dum expertus, agitare
ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque 5
in oculis ejus agros sociorum cœpit; et modo citato agmi-
ne ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viæ,
si excipere degressum in æquum posset, occultus obsiste-
bat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab
hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrede- 10
retur; castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogeret, tene-
batur miles. Pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec
passim. Equitum levisque armaturæ statio, composita
instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia
et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus præbebat; neque 15
universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva
momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimo-
que receptu, assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus mil-
item minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pæni-
tere suæ. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis 20
consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum; qui nihil
aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio, moræ ad rem publi-
cam præcipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque in consiliis
ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein propalam
in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, 25
affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat, premendoque
superiorem, quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum
successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

XIII. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Bene-
ventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, irri- 30
tat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indi-
gnitatibus cladibus sociorum detrahare ad æquum certa-
men possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis,
qui ad Trasimenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant,
tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum illecti donis 35
promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium ani-
mos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovis-

set, Capuæ potiendæ copiam fore, quum res major quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem, tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt; monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus affirmarent, jussosque, cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se, dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latino nomine, 10 Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit; aversusque ab suo itinere, per Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi quum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. Cum is 15 Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque cæso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prædatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas 20 Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit; ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidæ fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, quum omnia bello flagrant, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia justo et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, me- 25 lioribus parere.

XIV. Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amœnissimus Italiæ ager, villæque passim incendiis fumabant, per juga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa. Quieti 30 fuerant enim per paucos dies, quia, quum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant; ut vero in extrema juga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant, Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ tecta urentes, nec ulla erat 35 mentio pugnae, "spectatumne huc," inquit Minucius, "ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum cædes et incendia venimus? Nec si nullius alterius, nos ne civium quidem

horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta hæc ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit sed Pœnus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia jam huc progressus? Tantum pro degeneramus a patribus 5 nostris, ut, præter quam oram illi suam Punicas vagari classes, dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum jam factam videamus? Qui modo, Saguntum oppugnari indignando, non homines tantum, sed fœdera et deos ciebamus, scan- 10 dentem mœnia Romanæ coloniae Hannibalem læti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam deorum invocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per æstivos saltus deviasque cal- 15 les exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quæsitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset; quam 20 vereor, ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Pœnis toties servaverint majores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die, dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum jussuque populi dictum, Veios allatum est, quum esset satis altum Janiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descen- 25 dit in æquum, atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? Post multos annos, quum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub jugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor juga Samnii 30 perlustrando, an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacerando victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus jugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quæ alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, im- 35 peditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere

posse; armari copias oportet, et deducendas in æquum, ut vir cum viro congrediari; audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non iis segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant." Hæc velut concionanti Minucio circumfunde-
 5 batur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur; ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant, Minucium Fabio duci prælaturos.

XV. Fabius, pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes
 10 intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum præstat. Quamquam probe scit, non in castris modo suis, sed jam etiam Romæ infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum æstatis reliquum extrahit, ut Hannibal, destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis,
 15 jam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio præsentis erat copiæ, non perpetuæ, arbusta vineæque et consita omnia magis amœnis quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc per exploratores relata Fabio. Quum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, redi-
 20 turum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiiis, quæ urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta, Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse jugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui ex turba juvenum audientium
 25 sæpe ferociter concionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque præcepta dictatoris,
 30 qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese jusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidæ, alii atque alii occurrentes refugientesque, ad castra prope ipsum cum fatigue equorum atque hominum pertrahere; inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii
 35 erat, concitatis equis invectus, quum, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus,

postquam nec hostem desistere sequi, nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in prœlium rediit, omni parte virium impar; itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfrugerunt. 5

Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam, in artas coactus fauces, imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Pœnis Appiæ limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis 10 exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde millia hostes aberant.

XVI. Postero die Pœni, quod viæ inter bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso consti- 15 tissent vallo, haud dubie æquiore loco, successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis equitibus, atque ad lacesendum hostem carptim Pœni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnare. Restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate; 20 ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum obsessa; quum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Pœnus inter Formiana saxa ac Liternas arenas stagnaque perhorrida situ hiberna- 25 turus esset. Nec Hannibalem fefellit, suis se artibus peti; itaque, quum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes et jugum Calliculæ superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggrediretur, ludibrium oculorum, specie terribile, ad frustrandum hostem 30 commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit; faces undique ex agris collectæ fascisque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti præliganturque cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem prædam age- 35 bat; ad duo millia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum

accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

XVII. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra, boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque 5 angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes. Et metus ipse relucens flammæ ex capite calorque jam ad vivum diu ad imaque cornuum adveniens velut stimulos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus 10 quam silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circum virgulta ardere; capitumque irrita quassatio, excitans flammam, hominum passim discurrentium speciem præbebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circum- 15 ventos se esse rati, præsidio excessere; qua minime densæ micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium juga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt; et primo quum procul cernerent, veluti flammæ spirantium miraculo attoniti constiterunt, 20 deinde, ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum majore metu concitant se in fugam, levi quoque armaturæ hostium incurrere. Ceterum nox æquato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit; interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum, et quibusdam 25 in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

XVIII. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse ratus, et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub jugo 30 montis prælium fuit; quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile—etenim numero aliquantum præstabant—Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors, ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale, pervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levi- 35 orque, quum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu campestem hostem—gravem armis statariumque—pugnæ genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine

digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani, aliquot suis amissis, in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum, super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum, per Samnium Romam se petere simulans, Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat, nec absistens nec congregiendi. Ex Pelignis Pœnus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens, Geronium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars mœnium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunæ confidat, et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiūque imitetur; ne nihil actum censeret, extracta prope æstate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere; haud parvam rem esse, ab toties victore hoste vinci desisse, ab continuis cladibus ac respirasse; hæc nequidquam præmonito magistro equitum, Romam est profectus.

XIX. Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique cœptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adjecit; quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus navibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus configere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipioni, postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito, quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit; altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem, decem millia passuum distantem ab ostio Iberi amnis, pervenit. Inde duæ Massiliensium speculatiæ præmissæ retulere, classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis, castraque in ripa posita; itaque, ut improvidos

incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sub-
 latis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas
 turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis
 adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo, conspectis ho-
 5 stium navibus, datum signum Hasdrubali est; tumultus-
 que prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est
 ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico
 exaudito, aut aperientibus classem promontoriis; quum re-
 pente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos
 10 in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam
 hostem aut praelium eo die exspectantes, conscendere
 naves propere atque arma capere jubet; classem Roma-
 nam jam haud procul portu esse. Hæc equites dimissi
 passim imperabant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exer-
 15 citu aderat; varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus
 in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis
 e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes
 conscenderant, quum alii, resolutis oris, in ancoras eve-
 huntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, raptimque
 20 omnia præpropere agendo militum apparatu nautica mini-
 steria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare
 arma miles prohibentur. Et jam Romanus non appropin-
 quabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves.
 Itaque non ab hoste et praelio magis Pœni, quam suomet
 25 ipsi tumultu turbati, et tentata verius pugna quam inita,
 in fugam averterunt classem; et quum adversi amnis os
 lato agmini et tam multis simul venientibus haud sane
 intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii
 vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati partim iner-
 30 mes, ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere.
 Duæ tamen primo concursu captæ erant Punicæ naves,
 quattuor suppressæ.

XX. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat, arma-
 tamque aciem toto prætentam in litore cernebant, haud
 35 cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, naves om-
 nes, quæ non aut perfregerant proras litori illisas aut
 carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extra-

xere, ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum ejus victoriæ fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto ejus oræ mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti, exscensio ab navibus in terram facta; quum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, 5 Carthaginem inde petunt, atque, omnem agrum circa depopulati, postremo tecta quoque injuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde jam præda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale; quod satis in usum fuit sublato, 10 ceterum omne incensum est. Nec in continentis modo projectas oras, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quæ caput insulæ est, biduum nequidquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis 15 aliquot incensisque vicis, majore quam ex continenti præda parta, quum in naves se recepissent, ex Balearibus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciæ; quo omnium populorum, qui Iberum accolunt, multorum et ultimi 20 mæ Hispaniæ legati concurrerunt. Sed qui vere ditioris imperiique Romani facti sint, obsidibus datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius 25 Oceanum concessit.

XXI. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum æstatis tempus, fuissetque per Pœnum hostem; sed, præterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indebilisque, qui antea Iler- 30 getum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis, a Scipione missi, levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, 35 fudere omnes; occisis quibusdam captisque, magnaque parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad

Oceanum Hasdrubalem eis Iberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, quum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suæ legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione excitati, arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginensium valido exercitu invadunt; tria oppida vi expugnant. Inde, cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus præliis egregie pugnant; ac quindecim millia hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

XXII. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania, P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo millibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa, cum magna lætitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginensibus Celtiberico bello, haud cunctanter Iberum transgrediuntur; nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniæ traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri præsidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniæ populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fidei consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Pœnis, tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum transfugam, sine magnæ rei proditione venientem ad hostes, nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quæ fortuna potestatis ejus poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adjecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniæ amicitiam. Sed quum injussu Bostaris præfecti satis sciret nihil obsidium custo-

des facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte aggreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ex ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut ignorantem monet, quo statu sit res; metum continuasse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia 5 procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Iberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque, quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum tantæ rei donum posset esse, "obsides," inquit, 10 "in civitates remitte; id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit; vult sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem: ministerium restituendorum domos obsidium mihimet deponco ipse, ut opera quoque 15 impensa consilium adjuvem meum et rei suapte natura gratæ, quantam insuper gratiam possim, adjiciam." Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis, et ab his ad Scipionem 20 perductus, quid afferret, exprimit; et fide accepta dataque, ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit; diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare, mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus, quum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, con- 25 stituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in præparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo si Cartha- 30 giniensium nomine sic ageretur. Major aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim, graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos, fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat. Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab re 35 clementi liberalique initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque

ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quæ Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

XXIII. Hæc in Hispania quoque secunda æstate Punicæ belli gesta, quum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset: quæ ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiæ magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna, gereret, ita contempta erat inter cives, armatos pariter togatosque; utique postquam, absente eo, temeritate magistri equitum, læto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu, pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duæ res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris; una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, quum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo æquatis, ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri jussit, ut occulti alicujus pacti ea merces videri posset; altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso, in permutandis captivis; quod, sicut primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Pœnumque, ut, quæ pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem præstaret. Ducentos quadraginta septem quum plures Romanus quam Pœnus recepisset, argentumque pro eis debitum, sæpe jactata in senatu re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto filio, vendidit fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.

30 Hannibal pro Geronii mœnibus, cujus urbis, captæ atque incensæ ab se, in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris præsidio et circumspectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

XXIV. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Præerat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante

dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quæ in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, jam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra, relicta cum levi præsidio, fieret. Nec Hannibalem 5 fefellit, cum duce mutata esse belli rationem, et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem—quod minime quis crederet—quum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo ferme 10 a Geronio millia, in tumultum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis brevior via præven- 15 turus erat, nocte clam missi Numidæ ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum, contempta paucitate, Romani postero die quum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum itaque exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum tota prope compleverat Romana acies; simul et per aversa 20 castra equitatus, cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores, late cædem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Jamque artibus Fabii—pars exercitus aberat jam ferme—sedendo et cun- 25 ctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quæ pro Geronii mœnibus erant. Justa quoque acie et collatis signis dimicatum, quidam auctores sunt; primo concursu Pœnum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos; Numerii De- 30 cimii Samnitis deinde interventu prælium restitutum. Hunc, principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, jussu dictatoris octo millia peditum mille equites adducentem in castra, ab tergo quum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique præ- 35 buisse novi præsidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem rece-

pisce suos ; Romanum insecutum, adjuvante Samnite, duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex millia hostium cæsa, quinque admodum Romanorum ; tamen in tam pari prope clade famam egregiæ victoriæ cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

XXV. De iis rebus persæpe et in senatu et in concione actum est. Quum, læta civitate, dictator unus nihil nec famæ nec litteris crederet ; ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret : tum M. Metellus
10 tribunus plebis, id enim ferendum esse negat : non præsentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendæ, sed absentem etiam gestæ obstare, et in ducendo bello ac sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romæ et in exercitu imperium habeat ; quippe
15 consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicæ persequendæ procul ab Italia ablegatum ; duos prætores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia prætore egeat ; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicæ
20 gereret, prope in custodiam habitum ; itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo jam tamquam trans Iberum agro Pœnis concessum sit, sed et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante.
25 Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta ; tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei
30 Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio ; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris jure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini. suffe-
35 cisset. Dictator concionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis ; ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus audiebatur tunc, quum hostem verbis extolleret, biennique

clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas referret, magistroque equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliiue sit, propediem effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam 5 momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum, quam multa millia hostium occidisse, majorem gloriam esse. Hujus generis orationibus frustra habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne præsens de jure imperii dimicaret, pridie 10 quam rogationis ferendæ dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta, quum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo placebat, prodire, et, favore superante, aucto- 15 ritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno prætor fuerat, loco non humili solum, sed etiam sordido, ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia ejus artis ministeria usum. 20

XXVI. Is juvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quæstus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunæ fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit; 25 quæsturaque et duabus ædilitatibus—plebeia et curuli—postremo et prætura perfunctus, jam ad consulatus spem quum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petiit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romæ 30 quique in exercitu erant, æqui atque iniqui, præter ipsum dictatorem, in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt. Ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se sævientem injuriam tulit, acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus consulti 35 de æquato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum imperii

jure artem imperandi æquatam, cumque invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

XXVII. Minucius vero, quum jam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset secundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique immo-
5 dice immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari; illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitum Hannibali, majorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi æquatam in eadem civitate, in qua
10 magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint; in tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse; ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie, deorum hominumque judicio damnata, perstaret. Itaque, quo die primum con-
15 gressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quemadmodum imperio æquato utantur; se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis, aut, si majora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus, alterius summum jus imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio, sed viribus
20 etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendæ habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere; omnia fortunam enim habituram, quæcumque temeritas collegæ habuisset; sibi communicatum cum illo, non ademptum, imperium esse; itaque se nunquam volentem parte, qua posset, rerum
25 consilio gerendarum cessurum; nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quæ posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent; prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia
30 Fabio evenerunt; item equites pari numero, sociûmque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt; castris se quoque separari magister equitum voluit.

XXVIII. Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit;—neque enim quidquam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur,
35 eum fallebat, et perfugis multa indicantibus, et per suos explorantem;—nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum, et sollertiæ Fabii dimidium virium de-

cessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Pœnorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operæ pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occursurum 5 ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quidquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat; re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in 10 anfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque millia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicujus temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta 15 detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum, avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deponere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum. Dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat, et 20 vanis animis et minis increpat hostem; principio levem armaturam dimittit, deinde conserto agmine mittit equites; postremo, quum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal, laborantibus suis alia atque alia, ut crescente certamine, mittens auxi- 25 lia peditum equitumque, jam justam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, præoccupatum inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem, et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies 30 inter percussos impavida sola erat, videbaturque, si justa ac si recta pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque, in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes, fecerunt, 35 ut neque animus ad pugnam, neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

XXIX. Tum Fabius, primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "ita est," inquit, "non celerius quam timui, deprehendit fortuna temeritatem; Fabio æquatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte; victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Jam magna ex parte cæsis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente, velut cælo dimissa, ad auxilium ostendit; itaque, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem, nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare; ac jam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem, quum Pœnus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale, ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei majore parte exacta, quum in castra reditum esset, Minucius, convocatis militibus, "sæpe ego," inquit, "audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingenique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus, et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio jungamus; ad prætorium ejus signa quum tulerimus, ubi ego eum patrem appellavero, quod beneficio ejus erga nos ac majestate ejus dignum est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma dexteræque texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et —si nihil aliud—gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit."

XXX. Signo dato, conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes, qui circa erant, convertite-

runt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum patrem Fabium appellerasset, circumfususque militum ejus totum agmen patronos consalutasset, "parentibus," inquit, "meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quo fando possum, æquavi, vitam 5 tantum debeo, tibi quum meam salutem tum omnium horum; itaque plebeiscitum, quo oneratus magis quam honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque; et, quod tibi mihiq̃ue, quod exercitibusque his tuis—servato ac conservatori—sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et 10 signa hæc legionesque restituo. Tu, quæso, placatus me magistri equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere jubear." Tum dextræ interjunctæ, militesque, concione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, lætusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope 15 exsecrabili factus. Romæ, ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cælum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Pœnos erat; ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse. Nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam famam a patribus acceperant. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam 25 nubem, quæ sedere in jugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

XXXI. Dum hæc geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium, circumvectus Sardinia et Corsica oram, et obsidibus utrimque 30 acceptis, in Africam transmisit; et priusquam in continentem excensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata, et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africa accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum 35 ducti milites, navalesque socii juxta effusi, ac si insulis cultorum egentibus prædarentur. Itaque in insidias te-

mere illati, quum a frequentibus palantes, et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur, cum multa cæde ac fœda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum cum iis Sempronio Blæso quæstore amisso, classis, ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta, in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybæi T. Otacilio prætori, ut ab legato ejus P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse, per Siciliam pedibus profectus, freto in Italiam trajecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega ejus M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab
10 se, exacto jam prope semestri imperio, acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Cœlius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit: sed et Cœlium et ceteros fugit, uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul
15 in Gallia provincia aberat, jus fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspectare territa jam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore, dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisse.
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XXXII. Consules, Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis—medium autumnus erat—Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt; frumentatum exequenti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universæ dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant; adeoque inopiæ est coactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugæ specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.
30

Quum ad Geronium jam hieme impediende constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venire. Ab iis quadraginta pateræ aureæ magni ponderis in curiam illatæ, atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent; scire sese, populi Romani ærarium bello exhauriri; et, quum juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiæ, urbe

Romana atque imperio, geratur, æquum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunæ a majoribus relictum foret, eo juvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturus. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque judicaverint, ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re majus ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis gratiæ actæ pro munificentia curaque; patera, quæ ponderis minimi fuit, 10 accepta.

XXXIII. Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginienſis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprehensus præcisisque manibus dimissus; et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio conjurassent; indici data 15 libertas et æris gravis viginti millia. Legati et ad Philip-pum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui, bello victus, ad eum fugisset; et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Pœnum opibus auxiliisque suis juvissent; simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quæ in 20 Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cujus dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferre vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinqua 25 quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit, ædem Concordiæ, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius prætor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Æmilio prætore urbis, C. Pupius et Cæso Quinctius Fla- 30 minius, ædem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem prætore ex senatus consulto litteræ ad consules missæ, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam diem, quam jussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad hæc a consulibus rescriptum, 35 sine detrimento rei publicæ abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam

consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est, dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa; dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis jussisque 5 die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit.

XXXIV. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius, Appii filius, Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia 10 habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni—quem, sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus et extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur— 15 patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi æquari assuescerent homines. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo, sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato 20 suo conciliabat; ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quærentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, quum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi; cum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisse eo, quod M. Minucius, absente Fabio, prospere pugnasset; 25 duas legiones hosti ad cædem objectas, deinde ex ipsa cæde ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci; consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse; id fœdus inter omnes nobiles ictum; nec finem ante belli 30 habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles jam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint, cœpisse; cui non id apparere, id actum et quæsitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum 35 potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quæsisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut vitio-

sus dictator per augures fieret; habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanæ esse; populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere quam diu imperare malit.

XXXV. Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, 5 tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu ejus essent comitia rogando collegæ. 10 Tum experta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitoribus ejus, L. Æmiliū Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et damnatione collegæ et sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem, ad petitionem compellit; is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus 15 omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde prætorια comitia habita; creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus; Philo Romæ juri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit; additi duo præ- 20 tores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam; omnes absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum præter Terentium consulem mandatus honos, quem jam non antea gessisset, præteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nullis novus magi- 25 stratus videbatur mandandus.

XXXVI. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt. Quantæ autem peditum equitumque additæ sint copiæ, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quidquam satis certum affirmare ausus sim; decem millia novo- 30 rum militum alii scripta in supplementum; alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, millibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adjectis, ut quina millia peditum quadringeni equites essent, socii duplicem 35 numerum equitum darent, peditis æquarent; septem et octoginta millia armatorum et ducentos in castris Roma-

nis, quum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator præbuerat. Ceterum priusquam signa ab
5 urbe novæ legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere jussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam et Romæ in Aventino et Ariciæ nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse; et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Cæretes aquas fonte calido gelidas ma-
10 nasse; id quidem etiam, quod sæpius acciderat, magis terrebatur; et in via Fornicata, quæ ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de cœlo tacti exanimatique fuerant; ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Pæsto pateras aureas Romanam, attulerunt; iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiæ actæ,
15 aurum non acceptum.

XXXVII. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt: cædem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo ægre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla
20 sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciat, magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant, misisse, quæ ne accipere abnuant,
25 magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Jam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriæ auream pondo ducentum ac viginti afferre sese; acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commea-
30 tus deessent, et, quantum præterea opus esset, quo jussissent, subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire, nisi Romano Latinique nominis, non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam
35 manum adversus Baleares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in

Africam trajiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur his ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regi est; virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem 5 coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adjuvisse; id, perinde ac deberet, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriam omenque accipere, sedemque ei se divæ dare dicare Capi- 10 tolium, templum Jovis optimi maximi; in ea arce urbis Romanæ sacratam, volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariiue et frumentum traditum consulibus; quinquereemes ad navium classem, quæ cum T. Otacilio proprætore in Sicilia erant, 15 quinque et viginti additæ, permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam trajicerent.

XXXVIII. Delectu perfecto, consules paucos morati dies, dum socii ab nomine Latino venirent. Milites tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis 20 militum adacti, jussu consulum conventuros neque injussu abituros. Nam ad eam diem nihil præter sacramentum fuerat, et, ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati pedites conjurabant, sese fugæ atque formidinis ergo non 25 abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros, nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos fœdere ad tribunos ad legitimam juris jurandi adactionem translatum.

Conciones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, con- 30 sulis Varronis multæ ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visceribus reipublicæ, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet; se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegæ ejus Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, concio fuit, verior 35 quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum, nisi id modo; mirari se, quodne qui dux, prius-

quam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, jam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quæ sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque prædicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus.

- 5 Se, quæ consilia magis res dent hominibus, quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non præcepturum; optare ut, quæ caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, præterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Id sua sponte apparebat, tuta
10 celeribus consiliis præpositurum; et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem allocutus fertur.

- XXXIX. "Si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. Æmili, haberes, aut tu collegæ tui esses similis,
15 supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fide vestra faceretis, et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequid-
20 quam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudet res publica, malis consiliis idem ac bonis juris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat, et,
25 cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus si certaturus es, adversus Hannibalem legionesque ejus tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria; tamen ille consul demum
30 et in provincia et ad exercitum cœpit furere; hic priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatum, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et, qui tantas jam nunc procellas, prælia atque acies jactando, inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam
35 juventutem censes facturum, et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus,

hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasimeno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet; una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi, nec eventus modo hoc docet—stultorum iste magister est—sed eadem ratio, quæ fuit futuraque, donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis, viris, equis, commeatibus juvant juvabuntque; id jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullæ eum urbes accipiunt, nulla mœnia; nihil usquam sui videt, in diem rapto vivit: partem vix tertiam exercitus ejus habet, quem Iberum amnem trajecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpsit, nec his paucis jam victum suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quamdiu pro Geronii, castelli Apuliæ inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis mœnibus!—sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor. Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quemadmodum eum ludificati sint. Hæc una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui, quod hostium milites, volent; idem Varro, consul Romanus, quod Hannibal, Pœnus imperator, cupiet; duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet; resistes autem, adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis si firmus steteris, si te neque collegæ vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis sæpe aiunt, extinguere nunquam; gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent; malo te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent; omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil

temere agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuæ potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint, armatus intentusque sis, neque occasioni tuæ desis neque suam occasionem hosti des; 5 omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt, festinatio improvida est et cæca."

XL. Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane læta fuit, magis fatentis, ea, quæ diceret, vera quam facilia factu, esse: dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; 10 quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semiustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; et, si quid adversi caperet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput ob- 15 jecturum. Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, quum dignitates deessent.

Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac veterere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus major pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, ætatem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanæ et socium peditum equitumque 25 duobus millibus præficiunt. Hannibal, quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne, unde raperet, quidem quidquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, 30 postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum expectata foret.

XLI. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac præpropere ingenio 35 materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis prædatoribus tumultuario prælio ac procursu magis militum quam ex præparato aut jussu imperatorum orto haudqua-

quam par Pœnis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti cæsi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cujus eo die—nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante, 5 emissum hostem e manibus, debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud ægerrime pati; quin potius credere, velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant; dissimiles dis- 10 cordesque imperitare; duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil præter arma secum ferentes educit milites, castra plena omnis fortunæ publicæ privatæque relinquit, transque proximos montes læva pe- 15 dites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem medium agmen traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictī in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga præciperet, falsa 20 imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

XLII. Ubi illuxit, subductæ primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Jam satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit 25 ad prætoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint; quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri juberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et 30 consul alter velut unus turbæ militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum præcavendumque esse; postremo, quum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium præfectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui, ubi adequitavit 35 portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris jussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum

- cura. Renuntiant insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castrorum, qua vergant ad hostem, relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta, argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias, vel objectum ad prædam, vidisse.
- 5 Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt; et, clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, quum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixis-
- 10 sent, obnuntiari jam efferenti porta signa collegæ jussit. Quod quamquam Varro ægre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudiique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Dii prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem
- 15 pestem Romanis; nam forte ita evenit, ut, quum referri signa in castra jubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui, Servilio atque Atilio consulibus, inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos; deductique
- 20 ad consules nuntiant, omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, quum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia majestatem solvisset.
- 25 XLIII. Hannibal, postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequidquam, detecta fraude, in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit; novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum, mixtos ex colluvione
- 30 omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum, oriebantur. Nam quum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama
- 35 esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relicto peditatu omni, cum equitibus se proriperet. Quum hæc consilia atque hic habitus ani-

morum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliæ loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte, ignibus similiter factis, tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidi- 5 arum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari cœpta. Quum utriusque consulis eadem, quæ ante semper, 10 fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo præter Servilium prioris anni consulem assentiretur, majoris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas, urgente fato, profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento, qui campis tor- 15 ridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi—terga tantum afflante vento—in occæcatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

XLIV. Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes 20 Pœnum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, ut in conspectu Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Geronium, sicut ante, copiis divisis. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; 25 ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hannibal spem nactus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit 30 aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra; quum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac signibus ducibus exemplum Fabium objiceret; testareturque 35 deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam vel usu cepisset Italiam, se constrictum a

collega teneri, ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se, omnis culpæ exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore, diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, æque in pugna vigerent manus.

XLV. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenebat instructam, quum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio jam etiam castra Romana terri; ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque Varro postero die, cui sors ejus diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega, signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adjuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adjungunt; atque ita instructa acie, in dextro cornu—id erat flumini propius —Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; lævum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites ad medium juncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt; jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta; consules cornua tenere, Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum; Geminio Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

XLVI. Hannibal luce prima, Balearibus levique alia armatura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traderat, ita in acie locabat; Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros

Romanam magna ex parte crederes aciem; ita armati erant, armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasimenum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formæ fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano—punctim magis quam 5 cæsim assueto petere hostem—brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Sane et alius habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis prætextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. 10 Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, millium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus præerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal, mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, perop- 15 portune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Pœnis in septentrionem versis; ventus—Vulturnum regionis incolæ vocant—adversus Romanis coortus, multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

XLVII. Clamore sublato, procursum auxiliis, et pugna 20 levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorum lævum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnæ; frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio, hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant in direc- 25 tum utrimque nitentes. Stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna jam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est 30 peditum pugna. Primo et viribus et animis pares constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi, æqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie; impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus 35 pedem insistere; ac tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati, postremo,

nullo resistente, ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus æquavit frontem primum, deinde cedendo etiam
5 sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas, mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequidquam prælio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, et adversus
10 Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum in eo iniquam quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

XLVIII. Jam et sinistro cornu Romanis, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum prælium
15 erat, segne primo et a Punica ceptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidæ, præter cetera arma telaque gladios occultos sub loriceis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis, parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis,
20 in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo jubentur. Ac, dum prælium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum, arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cæsorum corporum humi strata erant, aver-
25 sam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites cædentes, stragem ingentem ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Quum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala jam spe prælium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea jam parte præerat, subductos ex media acie Numi-
30 das, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris jam prope fessis cæde magis quam pugna adjungit.

XLIX. Parte altera pugnæ Paulus, quamquam primo statim prælio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et con-
35 currit sæpe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis prælium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omnis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum

vires deficiebant. Tum deinde nuntianti cuidam, jussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt “quam mallem, vinctos mihi traderet!” Equitum pedestre prælium—quale jam haud dubia hostium victoria—fuit, quum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam 5 fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen jam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus fessos; inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum, quum, prætervehens equo, 10 sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, “L. Æmili,” inquit, “quem unum insontem culpæ cladis hodiernæ dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest, comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere; ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris, et jam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.” Ad ea consul: “tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra morando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant, ac prius quam hostis victor ad- 20 venit, præsiidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, Æmilium præceptorum ejus memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori; memet in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim, aut accusator collegæ exsistam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.” Hæc exi- 25 gentes prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes, oppressere; consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obruerunt telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem millia hominum in minora castra, decem in majora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas per- 30 fugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum septuaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti pedites, duo millia septin- 35 genti equites, et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, cæsi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quæstores, L. Atilius

et L. Furius Bibaculus, et viginti unus tribuni militum, consulares quidam prætorique et ædilicii—inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno aliquot annis ante consul fuerat—
 5 octoginta præterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, quum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo prælio tria millia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

L. Hæc est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par,
 10 ceterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior fœdiorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitus servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus
 15 fuit.

Binis in castris quum multitudo semiernis sine ducibus esset, nuntium, qui in majoribus erant, mittunt, dum prælio, deinde ex lætitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent; uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quum æque conjungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent objicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere, quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum, “capi ergo mavultis,” inquit, “ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, æstimarique capita vestra, et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos
 25 quæeratur? Non tu; si quidem L. Æmilii consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati jacent, cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux majoraque hostium agmina obsæpiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi
 35 obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostes; cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstat, disjicias; itaque

ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis." Hæc ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostes; et quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidæ jacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in majora castra ad sexcenti evaserunt, atque inde 5 protinus alio magno agmine adjuncto Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Hæc apud victos magis impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cujusquam agebantur.

LI. Hannibali victori quum ceteri circumfusi gratula- 10 rentur suaderentque, ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset, noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal, præfectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, "immo, ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto," inquit, "victor in Ca- 15 pitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, præcedam." Hannibali nimis læta res est visa, majorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset; itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait, ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: 20 "non omnia nimirum eidem dii dedere; vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis." Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda faciendamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. 25 Jacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna junxerat aut fuga. Assurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam et jacentes vivos succisis feminibus pop- 30 litibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervicem jugulumque et reliquum sanguinem jubentes haurire. Inveni quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superjecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Præcipue convertit omnes sub- 35 tractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis; quum, manibus ad capiendum

telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

LII. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum, brachio flumini objecto, eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducentis, in servos centenis, et ut, eo pretio persoluto, cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt; traditi-que in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea quum ex majoribus castris, quibus satis virium aut animi fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Præda ingens parta est; et præter equos virosque et si quid argenti—quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur—omnis cetera præda diripienda data est. Tum sepe-
liendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum jussit: ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

25 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula, nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, mœnibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

30 LIII. Ceterum, quum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cujus pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio, et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consul-
tantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius

Philus, consularis viri filius, nequidquam eos perditam spem fovere, desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam; nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Cæcilius Metellus, mare ac naves spectare, ut, deserta Italia, ad regem aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, præterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio juvenis, fatalis dux hujusce belli: audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse; irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent; nullo loco verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse. Pergit ire, sequentibus paucis, in hospitium Metelli; et, quum concilium ibi juvenum, de quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, “ex mei animi sententia,” inquit, “ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me, Jupiter optime maxime, domum, familiam, remque meam pessimo leto afficias. In hæc verba, L. Cæcilius, jures postulo ceterique, qui adestis; qui non juraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.” Haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, jurant omnes, custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

LIV. Eo tempore, quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor millia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicanos et pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt. Ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busæ multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem millia hominum erant: Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantæ secum peditum equitumque

copiæ essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrumne Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere juberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et jam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat, mœnibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab
5 hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam, ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus consulibus exercitum deletasque omnes copias, allatum fuerat. Nunquam, salva urbe, tantum pavoris tumultusque intra mœnia
10 Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri, neque aggrediar narrare, quæ edissertando minora vero faciebant. Consule exercituque ad Trasimenum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur; nec
15 ulla jam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse, Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac jam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares aut cladem ad Ægates insulas Carthaginiensium, prælio navali acceptam, qua fracti Si-
20 cilia ac Sardinia cessere, inde vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt; aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandæ sunt, nisi quod minore animo latæ sunt.

LV. P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius prætores
25 senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant, deletis exercitibus, hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis, sicut ingentibus, ita ignotis, ne consilium quidem satis expedirent,
30 obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et, nondum palam facto, vivi mortuique et per omnes pæne domos promiscue complorarentur; tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando—aliquos profecto ex fuga
35 passim dissipatos fore—referant, quæ fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit; et, si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eæ copiæ

sint; quo se Hannibal post praelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Hæc exploranda noscendaque per impigros juvenes esse. Illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant, 5 continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant; comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad prætores deducendos curent; suæ quisque fortunæ domi auctorem expectent; custodesque præterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quem- 10 quam egredi urbem, cogantque homines, nullam, nisi urbe ac mœnibus salvis, salutem sperare; ubi conticuerit recte tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

LVI. Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, 15 submotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litteræ a C. Terentio consule allatæ sunt, L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque cæsum, sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantæ cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem. Ad decem millia mili- 20 tum ferme esse inpositorum inordinatorumque; Pœnum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis prædaque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatæ quoque per domos clades vulgatæ sunt; adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum 25 anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque, ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum quum, 30 sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliæ insuper ex Sicilia litteræ allatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio proprætore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui quum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem ad Ægates insulas stare, paratam instru- 35 etamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Pœni sensissent, Lilybæum extemplo provinciamque aliam

Romanam aggredierentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

LVII. Litteris consulis proprætorisque perlectis, M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti præesset, Canusium
5 ad exercitum mittendum censuerunt, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicæ fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duæ Vestales eo anno, Opimia
10 atque Floronia, stupri compertæ, et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat. L. Cantilius, scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in
15 comitio cæsus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire jussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare, et quænam
20 futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca, in foro bovario, sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consæptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.
25 Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis, M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi præsidio essent, mittit: ipse, legione classica—ea legio tertia erat—cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum præmissa, classe tradita P.
30 Furio Philo collegæ, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Junius et Tib. Sempronius magister equitum, delectu edicto, juniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam prætextatos scribunt; quattuor ex his legiones et mille
35 equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt; arma, tela, alia parari jubent, et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis

porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi delectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit; octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellente militare, empta publice armaverunt; hic miles magis placuit, quum pretio minore redimendi captivos 5 copia fieret.

LVIII. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, quum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasimenumque lacum, benigne 10 allocutus, sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos—quod nunquam alias antea—satis miti sermone alloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare; et patres virtuti Romanæ cessisse, et se id adniti, ut suæ in vicem simul felicitati et 15 virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere: pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, treceos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adjiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quod pepigerant dedentes se, læti tamen quamcumque conditionem 20 paciscendi acceperunt; placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent; nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut jurarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginienſis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinarent animos, conditiones ferret. Quum egres- 25 si castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, jurisjurandi solvendi causa quum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthalonſi obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem ex- 30 cederet finibus Romanis.

LIX. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps M. Junius, “patres conscripti,” inquit, “nemo nostrum ignorat, nulli unquam civitati vili- 35 ores fuisse captivos quam nostræ. Ceterum, nisi nobis plus justo nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt.

Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus ; sed quum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis cæsorū corporum prælium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos ; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus
5 vallum sumus tutati ; postero die, quum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla jam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare,
10 tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil jam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Majores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad conditionem pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarantum misisse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad
15 Heracleam cum Pyrrho, utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt ; nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui nec in acie quidem refugerunt, sed, præsidio castris relictis, quum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunæ aut conditioni invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim ; ne illi
25 quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod præmium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiæ aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito prætulerint gloriatique sint, in se plus quam in nobismet præsidii rei publicæ esse. Sed illis et bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini, et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuimus. Delectum ex omni ætate et fortuna habetis, octo millia servorum audio armari ; non minor numerus noster est, nec majore pretio redimi possumus, quam ii emuntur ;
35 nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si tamen duriores esse velitis,

quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis; Pyrrho videlicet, qui vos hospitum numero captivos habuit, an barbaro ac Pœno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest. Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto 5 vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiæ stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque responsum vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita 10 suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si—me dius fidius—ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, quum indigni, ut redimeremur a vobis, visi sumus. Re- 15 diere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam, trecentis nummis non æstimatus civis? Suum quisque animum habet, patres conscripti; scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque 20 meum; magis me famæ periculum movet, ne a vobis dam-nati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent.”

LX. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quæ in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad 25 curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro ac turbæ virorum immiscuerat. Senatus, submotis arbitris, consuli cœptus. Ibi quum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam 30 faciendam, nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si quibus argentum in præsentiam deesset, dandam ex ærario pecuniam mutuam, prædibusque ac prædiis cavendum populo, censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis duræ, ut plerisque videatur, severitatis, interrogatus sen- 35 tentiam, ita locutus fertur: “si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimeren-

tur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem. Quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, quum prope gloriati
5 sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, præferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli, æquum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quæ illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam hæc, quæ
10 apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviæ cujusque et virtutis; aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed quum, fessis pugnando
15 hostibus, tum victoria lætis et ipsiis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem millia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P.
20 Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur; ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Sicut avorum memoria P. Decius tri-
25 bunus militum in Samnio, sicut, nobis adolescentibus, priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quum ad tumultum eos capiendum, situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit, "moriāmur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones;" si hoc P.
30 Sempronius diceret, nec viros quidem nec Romanos vos duceret, si nemo tantæ virtutis exstitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam, ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus—quid, si
35 moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta millia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die cæsa jacent; si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam

movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Et liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives ejus estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati jure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis 5 eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium, civem vestrum, non audistis, arma capere ac sequi se jubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis, castra prodi et arma tradi jubentem. Quam ego ignaviam istorum accuso, quum scelus possim accusare! Non enim modo 10 sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes submovissent; prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem 15 hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet. Ex millibus septem armatorum sexcenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent; neque iis sexcenta millia hostium obstitere. Quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agminis futurum 20 censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti millia armatorum Canusii, fortia, fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque—nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint—cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest fuisse, ut erumpentibus, quin erumperent, obsistere 25 conati sunt; aut non invidere eos quum incolumitati tum gloriæ illorum per virtutem partæ, quum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosæ causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem expectare, quum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. 30 Ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi, vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, quum omnia subsidia vitæ abessent, affectisque fame viribus, arma jam sustinere nequirent, ne- 35 cessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole ab hostibus ad vallum accessum; ante secundam

horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos; hæc vobis ipsorum per biduum militia fuit. Quum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt; quum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimam? Quum erumpere castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; quum manere, castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriæ restituerunt."

LXI. Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, præter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniæ quoque summa homines movit, quæ nec ærarium exhaurire—magna jam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque—nec Hannibalem maxime hujusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot jactura civium adjectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra jurejurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama; decem primos venisse; de eis quum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum, et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse; quod, per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex iti-

nere regressi, religione sese exsolvissent. De iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos censuerint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consci- 5 verint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico, caruerint. Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam quid veri sit discernere queas.

Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quæ ad 10 eum diem firma steterat, tum labare cœpit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Pœnos hi populi, Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani; præter hos Surrentini et Græcorum omnis ferme 15 ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eæ clades defectio- nesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis unquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptæ 20 cladis. Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti, et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiæ actæ quod de re publica non despe- rasset; qui si Carthaginensium ductor fuisset, nihil recu- 25 sandum supplicii foret.



MAP TO SHEW THE
ROUTE OF
HANNIBAL
OVER THE ALPS.

Modern Roads ———
Roman Roads - - - - -
Hannibal's Route ~~~~~

Roman Miles of Eight Stadia each
English Miles

In the notes which have reference to the passage of Hannibal, I have followed the route as originally made out by General Melville, the correctness of which cannot be doubted. General Melville's account of the march of Hannibal may be found in M. de Luc's "*Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Hannibal*," Genève et Paris, 1818; and in Wickham and Cramer's "*Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps*," London, 1828. The map, which accompanies this edition of Livy, is copied, with some changes, from that prefixed to the latter of the above-mentioned works.

The details of the route, as thus determined, are sufficiently explained in the notes. I add here, in further illustration of the map, a summary of the distances, as given by Polybius, in B. 3, c. 39:

From the Pillars of Hercules to New Carthage, 3,000 stadia, or 375 Roman miles.					
From New Carthage to the Ebro,	- - -	2,600	"	325	" "
From the Ebro to Emporium,	- - -	1,600	"	200	" "
From Emporium to the passage of the Rhone,		1,600	"	200	" "
From the Rhone to the ascent of the Alps,	- - -	1,400	"	175	" "
The Alps themselves,	- - - - -	1,200	"	150	" "

I add here Dr. Arnold's view of Hannibal's route:

"On the whole, it appears to me most probable that the pass by which Hannibal entered Italy was that which was known to the Romans by the name of the Graian Alps, and to us as the Little St. Bernard. Nor was this so circuitous a line as we may at first imagine. For Hannibal's object was not simply to get into Italy, but to arrive in the country of those Cisalpine Gauls with whom he had been corresponding. Now these were the Boii and Insubrians; and as the Insubrians, who were the more westerly of the two, lived between the Adda and the Ticinus, the pass of the Little St. Bernard led more directly into the country of his allies, than the shorter passage into Italy by the Cottian Alps, or Mont Genevre."—Hist., vol. 2, Note L to p. 284.

The same view is taken by Mommsen, and by Liddell.

N O T E S.

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES.

“H.” stands for Harkness’s Latin Grammar;

“Madvig,” for Madvig’s Latin Grammar, translated by Rev. George Wood, and revised by Prof. Thacher;

“D.,” for Doederlein’s Hand-book of Latin Synonymes, American edition, by Dr. S. H. Taylor;

“Dict. Antiqq.” for Dr. William Smith’s Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities;

“Hand, Turs.,” for Ferdinand Hand’s Tursellinus, seu de Particulis Latinis Commentarii;

“Z.,” for Zumpt’s Latin Grammar, translated by Dr. Schmitz, and reprinted in this country.

References are also made to Arnold’s History of Rome, to Liddell’s, to Niebuhr’s; and to Mommsen’s, translated by Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D.

NOTES.

NOTES TO THE PREFACE.

PAGE

IN his Preface, Livy sets forth first the motives which have determined him to write the history of the Roman people, then his aims and method in the treatment of his subject, and finally some of the great lessons taught by history in general, and by the history of the Roman State. 1

1. Facturusne operæ pretium sim. For the subjunctive *sim*, H. 525. *Facere* sometimes means with *pretium* to fix a price, but here *facere operæ pretium* means to win a reward for one's labor, or *to do a thing worth while*; translate, *Whether I shall do a thing worth while*. The historian expresses a doubt whether his work will win acknowledgment as a useful one. These first four words make four feet of an hexameter. Tacitus begins his Annals with an entire hexameter. Cicero in *Orator*, c. 54, censures poetic numbers in prose; but Quintilian (Inst. 9, 4.) mentions the present instance with commendation.

3. Ausim. For the form, H. 239, 4; for the mood, H. 485, 486. I.—**Quippe qui...videam.** The subjunctive, because it gives the reason for the assertion just made; H. 519, 3.; *since I see*.

4. Rem represents here, as often, a neuter pronoun like "it" or "this," and the antecedent is to be found in *facturusne—sim* taken in connection with *dicere*. The *thing* which is *both old and common* is thus the assertion on the part of writers, that they will do something worth while by the writing of their works.—**Dum.** This particle here annexes a clause which at once unfolds and establishes the meaning of *vulgatam rem*, in a mention of two points, wherein new writers hope to excel their predecessors, and so to do a good service by their works.

8. Et ipsum. For *et me ipsum*, and in contrast with *novi scriptores*; *et* here means *also*; *that I also*.—**Pro virili parte**; = *Pro mea parte*, *for my*

PAGE **part**, as *pars virilis* means what falls to each one's lot. The sense
 1 is: Other writers have done their part, I shall rejoice to have done mine.

11. Res. *The subject*, i. e. the Roman State, the history of which he is to write. The relative *quæ* refers to *res*; and the subjunctive in *repetatur* and in *creverit*, according to the same rule as above, *quippe qui videam*.—**Præterea** introduces a second ground of apprehension about the success of his history. The first was given in the latter part of the preceding sentence, *in tanta scriptorum*, etc., the competition with other and distinguished writers.

14. Et legentium. This clause gives a third ground of doubt, viz., whether his work will find favor with his readers.

17. Hoc quoque. The *quoque* indicates something additional to what has been mentioned before in *juvabit tamen*, etc.

21. Curæ refers to the *anxiety* which he would feel if he were writing contemporary history (*hæc nova*), lest he should give offence in the expression of his opinions.

22. Ante conditam condendamve urbem. The unusual construction of *ante* with the gerundive (see H. 565, 1) is here occasioned and justified by the preposition being already used with *conditam*. As to the respective meaning of the participles with *urbs*, *condita* represents the city as built, *condenda* represents the city as one to be built, with the idea of necessity expressed, as the city that must be built, and also with the idea of the building now going on, the city which is building. Hence, as *ante condendam urbem* would be earlier in point of time than *ante conditam urbem*, Livy adds *condendam* to *conditam* with a restrictive purpose, as if to say; or rather before, according to the will of the gods, the building of the city began. Translate, *before the city was built, or before it was building*. On the force of the participles see Madvig, § 414.

23. Decora . . . monumentis; *suitable rather for poetic fables, than for genuine historical records*. Livy here refers to the legendary character of the early Roman annals; and the first book of his history illustrates throughout the intention he expresses in this sentence: "Livy wrote," as Niebuhr remarks (*Hist.*, vol. i., p. 3), "in the same spirit in which the marvellous legends of the heroic age were commonly drawn down into history."

2 **3. Referre** has for its object a pronoun referring to *origines*, and *auctores* is an appositive to *deos*.—**Ea belli . . . patiuntur**. In form these words constitute the apodosis to *si cui—auctores*; but they contain the ground for the omitted thought, which is the real apodosis, and which, if supplied, might be as follows: *certe populo Romano licere oportet*. But the same rhetorical liberty may be taken in English, and so the sentence

be translated literally. Observe the difference of meaning in the subjunctive and the indicative, *patiantur* and *patiuntur*. PAGE 2

7. Utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt. *Existimare* means more than *animadvertere*: the latter, formed from *animus* and *advertere*, means to turn the mind, *to consider*; the former, to put an estimate upon, *to decide*.

9. Mihi; the ethical dative; H. 389. *Ad illa* is used with emphasis, as shown alike by the pronoun itself, and by its place at the beginning of the sentence.

12. Velut desidentes. The historian compares the decline of the national character with the unsettling and fall of a building. Observe how the figure is carried out in *desidentes, lapsi sint, ire præcipites*.

15. Nec...nec...possumus. The inability is a moral one; the people feel the galling burden of their vices, but lack the resolute will to throw it off. Thus the vices and the requisite remedies for them are alike intolerable.

16. Illud is predicate, and used with emphasis.

17. Documenta as a derivative of *docere*=*quæ docent, instructive lessons*.

22. Civitatem. The change is made from *respublica* to *civitas*, because the writer is thinking now of the citizens (*cives*), and of their opinions and character. The subjunctive in *immigraverint* and *fuert* is explained in H. 501, I. 1.

27. Luxum. *Luxus* differs from *luxuria*, inasmuch as the latter denotes the disposition of the mind, *luxus* the outward manifestations of the disposition.—**Pereundi perdendique omnia.** *Pereundi* with reference to the persons themselves; *of going to ruin, and of ruining all things*. The gerunds both limit *desiderium*.

BOOK FIRST.

I. *The arrival of Antenor and Æneas in Italy.*

2. Duobus...jus abstinuisse. The abl. with *ab* generally occurs with *abstinere* as an intransitive verb. Here *abstinere* is used transitively, and the dative, as a dat. of advantage, seems to be used after the analogy of the construction in H. 385, 4. Translate: *that toward two—the Greeks refrained from exercising every right of war*. 3

3. Et...auctores fuerunt. Homer relates this only of Antenor in Iliad, 3, 205; 7, 345. The indicative is used in *fuerunt*, although the clause is in *oratio obliqua*, because it is the writer's opinion; and the perfect rather

PAGE than the *properfect*, because the writer wishes simply to give the fact in
3 past time, without relation to the time in *abstinuisse*.

6. **Enetum.** The Eneti are mentioned by Homer as a Paphlagonian people, in II. 2, 852. They lived on the river Parthenius. Their king, Pylæmenes, was slain by Menelaus.

9. **Euganeis.** The origin of this people is unknown; perhaps they were a branch of the Umbrians. They lived in Northern Italy, on the slopes of the Alps, near the lakes Sebinus and Benacus, and the river Athesis.

10. **In quem . . . locum Troja vocatur;** an attraction of the antecedent (*locum*) into the relative clause, for *locus in quem*, etc. The present tense seems to indicate that even in Livy's time these names continued. So also below, I. 16, *Troja . . . est*, of the place near the mouth of the Tiber.

11. **Pagoque Trejano.** *Trojano* is attracted into the case of *pago* instead of being put by apposition (*Trojanum*) to *nomen*.

13. **Ab simili clade;** *ab*, from, i. e., *in consequence of*; and *simili* refers back to *variis casibus*.

16. **Laurentem agrum;** the territory of Laurentum in Latium, near the mouth of the Tiber.—**Tennisse;** sc. *cursum*.

17. **Ut quibus . . . superesset.** For the subjunctive, H. 519, 3.

4 4. **Audierit.** The subjunctive, not because of the word *postquam*, but because it is in a subordinate clause of the *oratio obliqua*. H. 531.

7. **Condendæque urbis locum;** not, a place for building the city (for which the dative *urbi condendæ* would have been used), but *the place for the city which was to be built*. The idea is, that the will of the gods has destined the building of the city, and they are in search of the appointed place.

15. **Lavinium;** a Latin town on the sea-coast, near the *Ager Laurens*. It was the central place of the Latin League, especially for all religious rites.

II. *War of the Latins and Trojans with the Rutulians, and the death of Æneas.*

19. **Turnus;** mentioned by Virgil in *Æn.* 10, 76, as grandson of Pilumnus, and son of the goddess Venilia. The Rutuli lived on the bank of the Numicus, and southward on the coast toward Terracina. Their capital was Ardea.

24. **Mezentium . . . regem.** The Etruscan word for the Latin *rex* was Lucumo. The Etruscans, called also Tyrrhenians and Tuscans, had twelve confederated cities, each governed by a Lucumo. Mezentius is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 8, 582.

25. **Cære;** abl. of place, the noun being used here as indeclinable.

The earlier name of the place was Agylla, and the modern name is Cereveteri. PAGE
4

26. Inde; with *ab initio* points back to a distant period, and *jam* strengthens the meaning: *from the very beginning*. Hand, Turs. 3, p. 367.

27. Nimio. For the abl., H. 418; literally, more by too much; may be translated *far more*.

33. His animis; *these dispositions*, referring to *studio ac fide*.

1. Implesset. Pluperfect, because Etruria had already become thus powerful before the arrival of Æneas.—**Mœnibus;** abl. of instrument; *by his walls*; through the protection they afforded him.

2. Secundum; here in the sense of *fortunate*. See below in c. 3, on p. 5, line 22, *fusis Etruscis*.

4. Quemcumque...est. These words are interposed from a religious scruple in regard to using any name for one now thought of as divine.

5. Indigetem. *Indiges*, from *indu* = *in* and *gigno* (*genitum*), and so literally meaning indigenous, or native, is a term applied, as here, to any one worshipped after death as divine, and as the guardian deity of the land in which, in his earthly life, he had ruled.

III. *Reign of Ascanius, the founding of Alba Longa, and the succession of Alban kings.*

11. Hicine...quem, etc. *Whether this Ascanius, or an elder than he*—were the one whom, etc. Before *quem* a pronoun, e. g., *is*, is to be supplied.

16. Ut tum. *Ut* limits the meaning of *florentem* and *opulentam*, as *things then were*. It was a flourishing city, considering the circumstances of those times.

18. Albano monte. The Alban Mount, now Monte Cavo, about twelve miles southeast of Rome, and near by the Alban Lake. Just to the west of the Alban Mount, on a long ridge (*dorso*), Alba Longa was built, which was the mother-city of Rome.

20. Albam Longam; acc. of place.

25. Ausi sint. For the mood, H. 494, for the tense H. 482, 2. The perfect gives more emphasis to the result, which is thus given as an historical fact in general, and not merely in relation to the time of the principal verb. See Madvig, § 382, Obs. 3.

29. Prisci Latini. Prisci, probably originally not an adjective, but the name of a people, and joined with Latini after the analogy of *patres conscripti* and other words, and meaning originally the Priscans and the Latins. The *coloniae*, as they are here called, were, according to some, eighteen; according to others, thirty; but probably they were thirty independent towns, who were so closely connected with Alba that they

PAGE were supposed to be colonies, and were ascribed to Latinus, because
5 called *Prisci Latini*.

36. *Per manus* expresses immediate succession.

IV. *The legend of the birth of Romulus and Remus; and how they were exposed and rescued, and brought up.*

6

9. *Sed debebatur, etc.* *Sed* is adversative in reference to the schemes of Amulius, which were to prove ineffectual. *Deberi fatis* is used of things which are bound, by destiny, or by the will of the deity, to take place; and the imperfect *debebatur*, which would mean literally was being destined, shows that now the divine will was passing into accomplishment. It may be translated: *but it was now the time, as I think, for the destined origin of so great a city, etc.*

10. *Secundum*, a preposition meaning *next after*.

16. *Forte quadam divinitus*. There seems to be a contradiction in this expression; and so some editors, and recently Madvig, have interposed a conjectural *an* between *quadam* and *divinitus*; but that is arbitrary and unnecessary. The thing is conceived as accidental, relative to the knowledge of men, and yet of divine direction; *by a certain providential occurrence*. So the Greek *δεῖξ τινι τύχη*.

17. *Tiberis effusus*; these words make the subject of the verbs *poterat* and *dabat*, and at the same time the ground for what is contained in them, and their clauses. The fact of the overflow of the river made it impossible to reach *its regular channel, ad justi cursum amnis*, and also awakened the hope that the children might be drowned in the water, although it was still. Construe thus: *Tiberis effusus super ripas lenibus stagnis nec—poterat, et—dabat*.

20. *Velut defuncti*. *Velut* expresses the thought of the attendants. They fancied the order executed by exposing the children in the nearest pool, but in reality they had been ordered to throw them into running water.

21. *Ruminalis*, from *rumis*=*mamma*, and alluding to the suckling of the children under the tree. The tree stood, as the story goes, on the Germalus, the part of the Palatine which lies over against the Capitol. *Romularis* was an earlier name for it.

27. *Invenerit*. For the tense, H. 482, 2; and see n. on *ausi sint*, above, c. 3.

28. *Faustulo*; see above, note, c. 1., on *pago*; *ei* is understood as dat. of possessor.

35. *Subsistere* means here *withstood*.

V. *Romulus and Remus are acknowledged by their grandfather, and Amulius is put to death.* PAGE

1. **Lupercal**; the name of, 1, a place on the Palatine, where were an altar and a grove sacred to the god Lupercus, or Pan (called Lupercus, quasi *lupos arcens*); 2, as here, of a Roman festival, celebrated in honor of Lupercus, as the god of fertility. *Hoc* shows that the festival was still observed in Livy's time.

4. **Ex eo genere**; *eo* refers back to Pallanteum. *Tempestatibus* used in the sense of *temporibus*.—**Tenuerit**; subjunctive, because belonging to the *oratio obliqua*; but, below, *vocaverunt* is used, because the writer makes the statement himself.

5. **Sollemne**. *Sollemne* and *ludicrum* are used of the same occasion, the former touching its religious side, the latter its festive.

6. **Lycæum**. Mt. Lycæus in Arcadia was near Pallanteum, and was thought of as the birthplace of Pan.

9. **Ob iram prædæ amissæ**. *On account of their anger at the loss of the booty*. Not *prædæ* alone, but *prædæ amissæ*, makes the object of *iram*.

11. **Utro**; besides, a meaning which comes from the local meaning *beyond*. They went further than might have been expected.—**Crimini**; supply *iis* for the other dative, and for the construction of *dare* with two datives, H. 390, ii.

20. **Numitori**; for dative, H. 398, 5.

23. **Eedem**; i. e., the same conclusion as Faustulus in respect to the origin of the children. The following clause denotes a result, *so that he was not far from*, etc.

VI. *Numitor is reinstated in the government of Alba Longa. Romulus and Remus form the design of building a city.*

30. **Numitor inter primum, etc.** This sentence well illustrates the facility with which the Latin language expresses a great variety of collateral circumstances in one sentence, without injury to the unity and perspicuity of the sentence, and even to their direct advantage. Here *Numitor ostendit* is the principal clause; all the others are subordinate, and depend upon the one principal clause, with the utmost order and distinctness. The sentence illustrates the several constructions, by means of which such a period is formed, viz., by the use of the part. agreeing with the subject of the principal clause, *dictitans*; by the abl. abs., *perpetrata cæde, advocato concilio*, and by conjunctions, *quum—avocasset, postquam vidit*. See Z. 817; Madvig, § 477.

32. **Avocasset**. The military were withdrawn *from* the palace *to* the

PAGE citadel, under the pretence that the latter must needs be maintained, and
 7 so the palace was exposed, and Amulius taken and put to death. *In arcem obtinendam*=in arcem ad eam obtinendam.

37. Concionem. *Concio* is now used instead of *concilium*, because it is a gathering of the people, called together to listen to a communication to be made to them. *Concilium* is used for a more select assembly for deliberation.—*Agmine*; with their train of attendants. It is an adverbial ablative.

8 **5. Et supererat.** *Et* is explanatory as well as conjunctive. *And indeed there was a superfluous population of Albans and Latins*; the population was too large for Alba and the other Latin cities.

7. Facerent; potential; *might readily awaken the hope.*

10. Quoniam...essent...posset. The subjunctive, because the reasons are ascribed to Romulus and Remus. H. 520, II.

12. Tutelæ...essent. *Tutelæ*, predicate genitive; H. 401. *Essent*, subjunctive by attraction; H. 527.

14. Ad inaugurandum templa; as places set off for observing the auguries. *Templum*, contracted from *tempulum*, from *tempus*, root *tem*, from which also the Gr. *τέμνω*, means literally *something cut off*. Thus, from the primary meaning of an open space set off, we have, 1, a consecrated place in general, and, 2, such a place for the worship of a deity, a temple.

VII. *Remus is slain by Romulus, and the city, when built, ruled over by Romulus, and named from him. Story of Hercules' arrival in Italy, and of his worship introduced by Evander.*

23. Ludibrio fratris; in derision of his brother.

25. Sic deinde; a word is to be supplied from *interfectum*, e. g., *interficietur*.

28. Palatium. The building of the city on the Palatine hill, which is quadrangular in shape, gave rise to the name *Roma Quadrata*.

29. Græco; agrees with *ritu*.

37. Agendo; in opposition to *aversos*; by driving them before him.

9 **8. Animi**; limits *incertus*, H. 399, 2, 2), (2).

16. Litterarum. This tradition thus ascribes to Evander the introduction of the alphabet into Italy; *miraculo* is used, because it was then so little known.

29. Ara condita; to be connected with *se* and referred to Hercules. He would fulfil the decree of the fates by the building and dedication of the altar. The *ara maxima* was in the Forum Boarium, which was in the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine, on the side toward the Tiber.

31. Potitiis ac Pinariis. *Politii*, perhaps from *potiri* (sc. *præda*), the PAGE
 possessors of the spoil; *Pinarii*, from *πεινᾶν*, the needy. Livy mentions 9
 the extinction of the family of the Potitii, in book 9, 29.

VIII. Legislation of Romulus, appointment of lictors, enlargement of the city, opening of the asylum, and the formation of the senate.

8. Ita . . . si. *Ita* = *ea conditione*, is explained by *si* and what follows; 10
 on this condition—if; may be translated by *only—if*, or by *not—unless*.

9. Generi. This dative, limiting *sancta*, is different from the ordinary dative after an adjective. It represents the laws as *sancta in the estimation* of the people.

10. Quam cetero habitu. *Cetero* in reference to what follows (*tum maxime*, etc.); *not only in the rest of his outward state*.

13. Eum belongs to *numerus*; and a pronoun, referring to Romulus, is to be supplied as the subject of *secutum*.

14. Sententiæ; predicate genitive with *esse*. *Apparitores* is a general word for the attendants of the king.

15. Sella curulis; a stool, without back, and with four bent legs, and made, like a camp-stool, to open and shut, for convenience of carriage. Its use was, in the time of the republic, a privilege of the consuls, the prætors, and the curule ædiles; hence these called *magistratus curules*. *Curulis* perhaps from *curia*, *κῦριος*.—**Toga prætexta;** a robe worn by magistrates, bordered with purple. Boys also wore a purple-bordered toga, before reaching the age for the *toga virilis*, which last was of white wool, without ornament or color.

17. Ita habuisse. *Ita* = *hunc numerum*. *Dederint*, subjunctive, because the reason is given on another's authority.

19. Alia . . . loca; probably parts of the Capitoline, and of the Esquiline.

20. Ad id . . . erat. *Hominum* limits also *id*, and the whole may be translated, *for the existing population*.

26. Inter duos lucos; here used as a kind of proper name, as of a street. The name was given to the valley between the two summits (N. E. and S. W.) of the Capitoline hill. *Descendendibus* limits *sceptus est*, and means, literally, to those going down; but, as it agrees with some indefinite word understood, it may be translated, *as you go down*.—**Asylum**, from *ἄσυλον*, meaning, literally, without plunder, or without injury, and so a secure place, where all, even criminals, might find a place of refuge and safety.

32. Possent; for the subjunctive, II. 501, II.

IX. *Story of the rape of the Sabine women.*

35. Penuria, ablative. *Ætatem*, acc. of time, and meaning, literally, a man's lifetime; translate, *for a single generation*.—**Essent**; for subjunctive, H. 519, 3.

11 5. Satis scire. *Satis* qualifies *scire*, and, for the subject of *scire*, *se* must be supplied, referring to the subject of the verb of saying, on which the whole *oratio obliqua* depends.

9. Molem; the direct object both of *spernebant* and of *metuebant*, and *sibi* and *posteris* indirect objects of both the verbs.

15. Neptuno. Neptune was called *EQUESTER*, from the story that, in the strife with Minerva, he created the first horse.—**Consualia**; from *Consus* (allied to *consulo*), the god of counsel. The festival was celebrated in August, and afterwards, when the Circus Maximus was built, was merged in the *Ludi Circenses*.

20. Cæninenses, etc. See Geographical Index.

27. Forte is explained by the clause which immediately follows; *by chance, into whose soever hands each had fallen*.

34. Hanc vocem; i. e., *Thalassio! Thalassio!* the common cry of the Romans at marriages.

36. Fœdus...fas....fidem. These words all have a common reference to the right of hospitality due to all who were invited to the games. The parents were *deceived by means of religion and faith*, because it was a religious duty to protect a guest, and because the invitation carried a promise of protection. This *jus hospitii* also existed only with nations united by *treaty*.

37. Venissent. Subjunctive, because the words are conceived and given as those of the parents, not as Livy's. Thus the Latin expresses by the inflection of the mood what in English would need an intermediate clause, e. g., as they said. See Madvig, § 368.

12 3. Qui...negassent. This clause begins the *oratio obliqua*, which is continued as far as *desiderium*, all dependent upon *docebat*.

4. Societate. Their fathers had refused alliance to the Romans, but *they* should be citizens, and enjoy all the rights of citizenship.

5. Mollirent...darent. For subjunctive, H. 530, II. The verbs would be in the imperative in direct discourse, as *mollite, date*.

7. Eoque melioribus. The *eo* with the comparative is explained by the clause *quod*, etc. The superiority of the husbands in this case, as Romulus argues, consists in this, that they will not only be husbands, but also make good the loss of parents and country; *better on that account, because each one would strive, after having performed his duty on his own part, to satisfy their desire for parents and country*.

9. **Vicem**; adverbial accusative, explained in H. under acc. of specification. (See H. 380, 2.) PAGE
12

X. *Romulus conquers the Cœninensians, consecrates the spoils of their leader to Jupiter Feretrius, and dedicates a temple to the god.*

13. **Raptis**; for the dat., H. 398, 5.

15. **Nec...continebant**; *nor did they confine.*

21. **Nomen**; for *populus*, as often in Livy; all who bore the name.

33. **Pasteribus**; for dative, see note, above, on *generi*, c. 8.

35. **Feretri**; the name seems to be derived from *fero*, as *ferculum*, *feretrum*.

37. **Opimis spoliis**. *Spolia* were called *opima* (*ops*), when they were taken by the commander-in-chief from the enemy's leader, whom he had slain in battle.

6. **Bina postea**. By A. Cornelius Cossus, who slew Lars Tolumnius, 13 king of the Veientes, A. U. C. 318 (Liv. 4, 19), and by M. Claudius Marcellus, conqueror of Viridomarus, king of the Gæsatae, A. U. C. 532, Liv. Epit. 20, 55.

XI. *Romulus overcomes the Antemnans and Crustuminians, and makes war upon the Sabines.*

9. **Antemnatium**; for the gen. in *ium*, H. 89, 5, 1).

10. **Per occasionem ac solitudinem**; by hendiadys, see H. 704, II., 2, for *occasionem solitudinis*, as in Tacitus, Ann. 15, 20, *occasio solitudinis*; literally, by means of the opportunity of the deserted state of the territory, *taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the deserted state of the Roman territories.*

14. **Ovantem**; not used in the subsequent technical sense of an *ovation*, but only expressive of joy.

16. **Rem coalescere**; dependent upon a word of saying included in *orat*.

21. **Nomina darent**. *Nomina dare*, like *edere*, *profiteri*, to give in their names, *to enlist*.

29. **Arcem**. In the limited and proper sense, the Roman *arz* was on the N. E. summit of the Capitoline, which is now occupied by the church Santa Maria Araceli; but in a wider sense it is also used for the whole hill, and so including the S. W. summit, where was the Saxum Tarpeium. So also *Capitolium*, which, after the building of the temple on the southern summit, was the special name for that summit, is often put for the whole hill.

PAGE 31. *Ponderis*...specie. See H. 428, 4.

13 35. *Habuerint*; the subjunctive, because the reason is a part of the tradition. *Pepigisse eam* must be construed with *additur*, and the clause *quod vulgo—habuerint* gives the reason for *pepigisse*.

XII. *Romulus repulses the Sabines, and vows a temple to Jupiter Stator.*

14 3. *Tamen*; i. e., however they may have gained possession, and whichever form of the tradition is true, *nevertheless*, etc.

7. *In adversum*; sc. montem. Literally the hill turned toward, and so=*up the hill*.

12. *Portam Palatii*; generally called *porta Mugionis*; toward the N. E. angle of the Palatine, near the *Velia*.

13. *Et ipse*; *himself also*.

15. *Urbi*; for dat., H. 398, 5.

19. *Statori*; from *sistere*; *the stayer*.—*Quod...sit*; *to be*, the subj. expressing purpose.

26. *Quantum*; the correlative *tantum* must be supplied in acc., modifying *egerat*; but *quantum* itself is nom., agreeing with *spatium*.

32. *Pelli*; the infinitive forms the subject of *facilius fuit*.

37. *Favore*; *favor* was often used for the shouts of encouragement given by the spectators to the combatants in the Circensian games. *Favore* limits *addito animo* as abl. of cause.

XIII. *The combatants are parted by the Roman women.* —*The Romans and the Sabines unite in one people.* —*Romulus institutes the curiæ.*

15 3. *Quarum*; objective genitive, *from the injury to whom*.

6. *Ex transverso*; an adverbial modification of *impetu facto*, to show the direction from which the women came, *across*. *Dirimere* is the principal verb, in the historical infinitive, and *ausæ* is to be taken as a participle.

7. *Iras*; here=*iratos*, *the angry combatants*.

9. *Nepotum...progeniem*; same as *nepotes*, *liberos*. The genitive is explicative.

19. *Curibus*. *Cures* (or *Quirium*), was the Sabine capital, and so the name *Quirites* was a concession (*aliquid datum*) to the Sabines. Another derivation of *Quirites* is from *quiris*, a Sabine word for spear. From this time the full name of the people was *Populus Romanus Quirites*, or *Populus Romanus Quiritium*.

24. In curias triginta. *Triginta* was a ruling number with the PAGE
 Latins; but the full number is here given by anticipation, as now there 15
 were only the Romans and the Sabines (the Ramnes and Tities), each
 having ten *curiæ*. The word gave the name of the patrician assembly
comitia curiata.

26. Hoc; abl. after *major*, and refers back to *triginta*.

29. Ramnenses, etc. Other writers give these names as those of the
 three *tribus*; also Livy himself in x. 6. The *equites* were taken respec-
 tively from the tribes. The Luceres have generally been considered of
 Etruscan origin; but recent investigations recognize in this division the
 Albans, brought to Rome by Tullus Hostilius.

XIV. *Tatius is put to death, and the Fidenates subdued.*

24. Jure gentium; by the *law of nations* the person of an ambassador
 was sacred, and whoever injured him must be surrendered for punish-
 ment.

2. Ob infidam . . . regni. The word is meant to show the want of good 16
 faith which generally belongs to a government which is shared by two
 kings; *on account of the bad faith in the sharing of the throne*.

4. Expiarentur . . . fedus renovatum. By the renewal of the league,
 which was probably attended with expiatory offerings, the two parties
 waived their respective wrongs—the Laurentians, the injury to the
 ambassadors, and the Romans the death of the king.

8. Fidenates. See Geogr. Index.—**Prope se** is added to *vicinas*, to
 express more fully the peril to the Fidenates of such vicinity.

10. Occupant . . . facere. *Occupare*, like the Gr. *φθάνειν*, has in it the
 idea of priority, doing a thing in anticipation of some one else=*prius*
facere; *made war first*.

17. Mille passuum. *Mille* is ordinarily used adjectively in the singular,
 but here is substantive.

18. Egressus . . . copiis; for omission of *cum*, H. 414, and remark
 under 7.—**Densa obsita virgulta;** explanatory of *locis obscuris*, and *densa*
 has an adverbial sense; *thick-set bushes*.

23. Eadem may be translated *also*; but it means, literally, this same
 battle of cavalry. The flight of cavalry might awaken less surprise,
 because the horses might easily be thrown into confusion.

28. Transversam . . . aciem; literally, the line turned across; *the ene-*
my's flank. So *adversa acies* = *the front*, and *aversa acies* = *the rear*.

33. Simulantes; sc. *fugam*, and in acc. agreeing with a pronoun, re-
 ferring to the Romans.

35. Hosti; for dat., H. 386, 2.

PAGE

XV. *Romulus conquers the Veientians.*

16

37. Irritati; sc. *sunt*; and the verb is limited by *consanguinitate*, and by the clause *quod*, etc., which is put in clause-form, because of the greater importance of this second ground of irritation.

17

1. Fidenates quoque; i. e., as well as the Veientians.

11. De tectis. *De*, here, concerning or *for*; for their dwellings.

14. Situ. Veii lay on a height, difficult of approach, between the two branches of the Cremera.

17. Parte; abl. of separation, *multatis* (originally *mulctatis*, whence the English word mulcted), meaning *deprived by fine*.

18. In centum annes; *for a hundred years*. See n., below, c. 22, on *in tricesimum diem*.

20. Fidei. Dative may be explained by H. 391, 1.

23. Ab illo; i. e., by Romulus.

24. Valuit; sc. *urbs*.

27. Celeres; from *celer*, κέλης; probably only another name for the *equites*.

XVI. *The death and the deification of Romulus.*

30. Campo; sc. Martio; in the part of the Campus Martius, afterward occupied by the Circus Flaminius.

33. Abstulerit; for the perfect tense, see H. 482, 2, and note on *ausi sint*, above, c. 3.

18

1. Velut; limits *orbitatis*, *of orphanage, as it were*; thus Romulus in the next sentence is addressed as *parens*.

5. Volens propitius; this asyndeton is very common in prayers and other religious uses.

12. Gravis; used like *weighty*, of *weight*, of character. So also *levis* is often used with *auctor* for the opposite form of character. The word of a man of such weight of character would give credence to any matter of however great moment.

16. Contra; = *in faciem*. Being thought of as divine, he might not be directly gazed upon by human eyes.

17. Cæstes ita velle; *that it is the will of the gods*. The legend embodies the national faith in the destiny of Rome to attain universal dominion.

XVII. *Interregnum for a year, and the regency of the senate.*

26. A singulis; the preposition relates to *pervenerat*, and would literally mean *from*; the words may be translated, *on the part of individuals*.

27. Pervenerat. The subject of the verb is a pronoun referring to *certamen* and *cupido*, and *pervenire* is used absolutely, literally meaning to come through, and so here, *to reach success, or to be successful*. Render: *had been successful on the part of individuals*. But it is an unusual use of the verb, and the connection with *a singulis* is peculiar.—**Factionibus;** by parties. *Ordines* refers to the two races mentioned in the next sentence.

35. Civitatum. For the gen. in *ium.*, H. 89, ii. 5.

37. In animum inducebat; literally, brought into his mind, i. e. resolved; but we may translate by the passive, *was induced*. The object of *inducere* is *concedere*.

1. Centum. After the union with the Sabines, the senate numbered two hundred. It may be that Livy has in mind the hundred Ramnes in *centum*.

6. Tenet; used intransitively: *which name now also continues*; just as sometimes our word *obtain* is used intransitively.

11. Ita gratiam, etc. *Ita* is explained by the clause *ut non*, etc., and this clause also gives the limitation of the expression *summa—permissa*. They conciliate the favor of the people by allowing them supreme power, yet *in such a way*, that, etc.

13. Regem jussisset. *Jubere* is the regular word for the formal action of the Roman people on any public measure; so with *regem* it comes to mean *to appoint*.

15. Rogandis. *Rogare* is the regular word in Roman public life for the inception of a measure; e. g. *rogare legem*, to introduce a law, and so the noun *rogatio* is equivalent to the English word *bill* in a legislative assembly. Also *rogare magistratum* means *to propose* some one to the choice of the people as a magistrate. The act was called *rogare*, because it was put to the people in the form of a question, as in the form *velitis jubeatis*.

16. Vi adempta; priusquam, etc. Literally, the force being taken away; (for) before, etc.; may be translated, *though its force has been taken away*; (for) before, etc. This was brought about in reference to laws by the Lex Publilia A. U. C. 414, and in reference to selections by the Lex Mænia, A. U. C. 476. In both instances the senate were obliged to sanction beforehand the action of the comitia.

18. Quod bonum, etc. The form of prayer on entering upon public business; the antecedent of *quod* is the clause *create*, etc., literally which may be, etc.; it may be translated, *be it good, prosperous, and happy*.

21. Numeretur; for subjunctive, H. 501, III.

XVIII. *Numa Pompilius is appointed and inaugurated king.*

26. Curibus. See Geograph. Index.

27. Ut in illa, etc. *Ut*, with its clause, limits *consultissimus*. See note above, on *ut tum*, c. 3.

PAGE 31. *Ultima Italiæ ora*; in Southern Italy, and called *Magna Græcia*
19 from the Greek colonies *Metapontum* and the others here mentioned.

32. *Aemulantium*; a word used of the disciples of a philosopher, or the adherents of a system; here = *emulously pursuing*.

33. *Ex quibus locis, etc.* The sentence is in refutation of the view given above in *edunt*, etc. From the *excivisset* which follows, such a verb as *pervenisset* may be supplied for the subject of *fama*.

37. *Suapte...virtutibus*; *that his mind, by the force of his own natural qualities, was duly tempered by virtuous dispositions*.

20 9. *Augurate*; limits *condenda*.

13. *Ad meridiem*; because the gods were thought of as looking southward from their abode in the north.

18. *Dextras ad meridiem, etc.* The augur faced the east (*ad lævam*), and so had the south on his right, and the north on his left. The *lævæ* were conceived of as the quarter for the fortunate signs, because nearer the gods.

19. *Signum*. The heavens the augur divided by an imaginary line drawn from east to west, called *decumanus*. To make a corresponding line on the earth some object was fixed as a *signum* in the distant eastern horizon, as a limit of the southern and the northern region.

24. *Uti, etc.*; a verb, as *precor*, to be supplied out of *precatus*. *Adclarassis*, contr. from *adclaraveris*.

XIX. *Numa builds the temple of Janus, institutes religious rites as by the direction of the goddess Egeria, and by intercalations adjusts the Roman year.*

30. *Quippe, etc.* This is given as the thought of Numa, and so the infinitive with the acc. is used.

31. *Janum*; the *Janus*, i. e., the temple of Janus, called *Geminus* or *Bifrons*, from its two entrances, and sometimes *Quirinus*, from being connected, through an ancient tradition, with *Romulus*. It stood at the northwest angle of the Forum, near the foot of the Capitoline.

32. *Argiletum*; a quarter of the city extending from the southern extremity of the Quirinal to the Capitoline and the Forum.

34. *Bis deinde, etc.*; the first time, seven years after the First Punic War, A. U. C. 517, 227 B. C.; the second time, B. C. 31.

21 8. *Dea Egeria*; the name of a divinity (*dea*), thought of also as one of the *Camenæ* (below, c. 21), and as a fountain-nymph, to whom were sacred a cave and fountain (c. 21), also a valley, as in *Juvenal*, Sat. 3, 17. The valley in which were the cave and fountain, was on the Appian Way, about a mile and a half from the Capena Gate. *Byron* describes the spot in "*Childe Harold*," c. iv., 115-119.

11. *Ad cursus.* Numa added two months, January and February, to the Romulian year of ten months, and Numa's year numbered 355 days. PAGE 21

13. *Desuntque dies, etc.;* i. e., $10\frac{1}{4}$ days would be wanting to make up the 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ of the sun's course from one solstice to the other.

14. *Intercalaribus...interponendis.* This reading is adopted in preference to the Alschevski reading, given in the former edition. The intercalation was not that of the quota of days wanting in each year, but such an intercalation of *months (ita)* that, at the end of a cycle of 19 years (*vicesimo anno*), the years had together the full number of days required by the revolution of the sun (*plenis—spatiis*). See Dict. Antiqq. pp. 192, 193.

17. *Nefastos dies fastosque.* *Fasti* (from *fari*) were days on which courts might be held and judicial business done; *nefasti*, on the contrary, those in which the courts must be closed, and no business done; or, as Varro defines them, *dies fasti*, per quos prætoribus—licet *fari*—*nefasti*, per quos nefas *fari*—do, dico, addico; translate, *holidays and business-days*.

XX. Numa appoints the Flamens, the Vestals, the Salii, and the Pontifex Maximus.

22. *Dialem*, from *δῖος*, *Jovis*, the *flamen* of *Jupiter*. *Flamen* (*filamen*, *filum*, see below, c. 32, *capite velato filo*) was thus the name of a priest devoted to the service of a particular deity.

23. *Romuli...similes;* for genitive, H. 391, 2, 4). Not always however with Livy is likeness or unlikeness in character expressed by the genitive (as below, c. 22, *regi dissimilis*), though uniformly with Cicero. But it may be noted that, in any writer, when the genitive *is* used, it expresses such likeness of character. *Vestæ*, *Vesta*, *Ἑστία*, goddess of the hearth, or of domestic life; then, of national life, as of the hearth and home of the whole people. So the vestal fire, kept perpetually burning, was a symbol of the perpetuity of Rome, of *Roma æterna*.

31. *Salios;* from *salire*, *saltare*, the leapers, i. e. the dancers. Their annual festival was in March, when they went through the city arrayed as Livy here describes, and also with such singing and solemn movement. The *ancilia* were called *cælestia*, from the tradition that the original *ancile* had been sent from heaven.

32. *Tunicæ...insigne;* *tunicæ* restricts the meaning of *insigne*; as a badge an embroidered tunic.

2. *Pecunia*, i. e., from the public treasury.

7. *Iusta funebria*, i. e., all offices for the burial of the dead.

8. *Ut...edoceret;* to be referred back to *subjecit* in the preceding sentence.

PAGE 9. *Curarentur*; ordinarily *procurare*, to care for, or attend to, by.
22 means of offerings and sacrifices.

XXI. *The religious and peaceful character of the Romans under Numa.—The grove of Egeria, and the worship of Hides.*

14. *Deorum*; objective genitive, *for the gods*.

16. *Proximo*; literally, being next, i. e., secondary, or inferior, to their regard for good faith; they were governed more by their moral convictions than by fear of punishment.

23. *Ex...specu*; *ex.*, out from, i. e., flowing out from a dark cave.

26. *Quod...essent*; subjunctive, because the reason is ascribed to Numa.

27. *Soli Fidei*; *to the sole honor of Faith*; but the reading *soli* is a doubtful one.

31. *Argeos*; sacred places, or chapels, in different parents of the city, twenty-seven in all. The word occurs in c. 68, as the name of certain figures, thrown into the Tiber, every year, on the Ides of May.

XXII. *The death of Numa, and election of Tullus Hostilius as king.*

23 5. *Regi dissimilis*. On the dative, see n. above, c. 20, on *Romuli similes*.

13. *Mandata*; acc. and object of *agerent*, and = *ea quæ mandata essent*.

18. *In tricesimum diem*; i. e., the war was to begin after the lapse of thirty days. The English expression *for the thirtieth day*, or *for thirty days*, corresponds both to *in tricesimum diem*, and to *tricesimum diem* without the *in*; but it must be observed, that the former Latin expression refers to future time, while the latter refers to past time, and is the acc. of duration.

26. *Ut expetant...clades*. Andrews, in *Lexicon*, following Freund, explains *expetere* as intransitive, *to fall upon*. But it is to be taken with its usual transitive force, governing *clades*, as below, c. 23, *expetiturum pœnas*, and as the English word *visit* is used of punishment.

XXIII. *Tullus enters into war with the Albans.*

28. *Domum*. Translate with *nuntiant* so as to give the force of the acc. of place.

34. *Modo...alterius*. Alba was destroyed, and the inhabitants removed to Rome, as related below in c. 29.

35. *Exercitu*; for the abl., H. 414, 7.

37. *Millia*. The *quam* is omitted after *plus*, and yet the same case 23
is used as if *quam* were expressed; see H. 417, 3.

6. *In...expetiturum pœnas*. *Expetere ab aliquo* is the common 24
expression, rather than *exp. in aliquem*, and more in accordance with the
usage with other verbs, as *capere*, *sumere*.

9. *Ducit*; used absolutely, as often, and like the Gr. ἀγείν. But,
though this use of *ducere* is common in Livy, it is rare in Caesar and
in Sallust.

14. *Afferebantur*. We should expect *afferrentur*, to express the view
of Tullus, but Livy probably means by the indicative to express the idea
that the proposals amounted to nothing. Faber ingeniously conjectures
tametsi vana afferri rebatur.

17. *Injurias*; the subject of *esse*, as is also *non redditas res*, and *dicere*
or *præ se ferre* may be supplied for *regem*.

23. *Recte*, an *perperam*; these adverbs modify some word not
expressed, e. g., *id fiat*, and referring to the fact just stated in the pre-
ceding sentence.—*Fuerit*, *may have been*, used concessively. He grants
that, for the one who undertook the war, that may have been a subject
of deliberation, but not for himself, as the war was no longer an open
question.

25. *Monitum*; a participle, and agreeing with *te*.

29. *Spectaculo fore*; sc. *Etruscis*, as it is a construction of *fore* with
two datives.

36. *Quarentibus*. This poetic use of the dative, instead of abl. with
a or *ab*, is very common with Livy.

XXIV–XXVI. *The combat of the Horatii and the Curiatii.*

3. *Nec ferme*; literally, nor almost, i. e., and almost not, and so = *and* 25
hardly.

4. *Nobilior*; from *noscere*, in the original sense of *better known*; *error*
means here *uncertainty*.

8. *Sua quisque*; *quisque* by apposition to the subject of *dimicent*.

9. *Fuerit*; the *perf.* subjunctive here, because the *oratio obliqua*
depends upon a present tense. In the *oratio recta* the clause would be:
ibi erit, unde—fuerit (fut. perf.).

12. *Cujusque...vicissent*. *Cujusque* = *cujuscumque*, and *vicissent* is
in the *pluperfect* subjunctive, because the clause is dependent on a past
tense; here also the direct expression would be *cujusque—vicerint*, is—
imperitabit.

23. *Fetialis*. The Fetiales were a college of Roman priests, instituted

PAGE by Numa, to whom was intrusted the preservation of the public faith
 25 (Fides Publica). Döderlein derives *fetialis*, with *fides* and *fœdus*, from *πυθεῖν*.

18. *Sagmina*; allied to *sacer*, *sancio*, and so *herba pura*, as taken from a sacred place, here the Capitoline.

22. *Quod... fiat*; the subjunctive here expresses limitation, so far as it may be done, see Madvig, 364, 2.; but it may also be explained as involving condition, see H. 513.

24. *Patrem patratum*. The passive part. is here used as *juratus*, *sacratus*, and others. Yet it is = *qui patrat*; just as *lex sacrata* = *lex quæ sacrat*.

27. *Non operæ est*. *Operæ* seems to be here a dative, sc. *mihi*, after the analogy of other expressions consisting of a verb with two datives. Thus *non esse alicui operæ* = one has no leisure or no disposition. Livy uses both datives in 4, 8: *neque consulibus—operæ erat*; 5, 15, *si operæ illi essent*; 9, 23, *quibus operæ est*; 21, 9, *Hannibali operæ esse*; 29, 17, *vobis operæ est*; 44, 36, *operæ sit stanti*. With only one case, as here, Liv. 33, 20, *non operæ est*; 41, 25, *non operæ est*.

33. *Defexit*; an old form for *defecerit*, H. 239, 4.

35. *Poreum...feriam*; hence the expressions *fœdus ferire*, and *icere*, and *percutere*.

36. *Potes pollesque*. *Posse* expresses the power, and *pollere* the power in the person.

26 12. *Animo intenduntur*; literally, are stretched in mind, hence are intent, as also our word attentive. *Suspensi* also, from *sub* and *pendo*, is another word for this same eagerness of expectation; *in suspense*. *Erecti* may not be translated so literally; but we use a similar figure when we speak of being on the tiptoe of expectation.

17. *Fecissent*. See notes above, c. 24, on *fuert*, and *vicissent*. We might, at first view, expect *fecerint*, as *obversatur* is present; but, as *obversatur* is historic present, it is treated as a past tense.

21. *Anceps*; on both sides. *Arma* is a general word, but, when used with *tela*, means defensive arms, and *tela* offensive.

37. *Faventium*; gen. predicate, and, for the meaning of the word, see n. above, c. 12, on *favore*.

27 5. *Alterum*; here used with *alter* in next line, because now there are only two.

9. *Fratrum*; limits *Manibus*.

11. *Male sustinenti*; male in sense of *vix*; ill. The dative *sustinenti* depending upon *defigit*, instead of gen. *sustinentis*, depending upon *jugulo*. H. 398, 5.

16. *Ditionis*; with *facti*, gen. predicate.

25. *Portam Capenam*. At this gate, at the foot of the Cœlian Hill,

the Via Appia began, and went to Capua, from which town perhaps the gate had its name. PAGE 27

26. Paludamento; the name of a military cloak of scarlet color, and bordered with purple, and usually worn only by a general; while the cloak of a common soldier was called *sagum*.

28. Juveni; limits *movet*. H. 398, 5.

1. Horatio perduellionem; instead of *Horatium perduellionis*. Livy also uses the gen. of the crime, but with the dative of the person, as in 26, 3, *perduellionis—Cn. Fulvio*. *Perduellio*, from *per* and *duellis*, *duellum* = *bellum*, was properly high-treason. The act of Horatius, though murder, was so far forth treasonable, as it was a usurpation of the judicial and executive power of the state. 28

2. Carminis; so called because the form was drawn up in a species of verse.—**Duumviri...judicent.** The law was so framed, or at least interpreted, as to leave the duumviri nothing to do but to pronounce judgment upon the prisoner, and condemn him to punishment.

3. Provocarit; i. e., ad populum, to the clemency of the people (as a higher tribunal), that the prisoner may be spared.—**Provocatione;** *try the case by appeal*. The appeal creates a new issue, viz., between the duumvirs and the accused, before the people, who would decide whether to sustain the duumviri in their decision, or to acquit the accused.

7. Ne innoxium quidem. See, above, note on *duumviri judicent*. They thought it was beyond their province to inquire whether the act might not be justified, and so whether the person were really *innoxius*, the case e. g., being homicide, and not murder.

11. De provocatione; = post provocationem factam, *on appeal*. But the *de* seems unnecessary, especially as just above the abl. alone is used with *certare*.

14. Patrio jure; by the *patria potestas* of the Roman law, which extended to life and death.

18. Pila Horatia; explained by the expression just below, *inter illa pila*. The place, near the Forum, was named from the Horatian *javelins*. The expression, however, is explained by some as a *pillar* adorned with the weapons and spoils of the Curiatii.

21. Furca; a fork, meaning here an instrument of punishment, made by fastening together two pieces of wood in the shape of V, and carried upon the neck of a malefactor (hence *furciferi*), and his hands tied to its two extremities.

22. Quod...possent. Quod = *ut id*, and the subjunctive expressing result.—**Tam deforme spectaculum.** Milton seems to have had this passage in mind, in *Paradise Lost*, Book XI., 494:

“Sight so deform, what heart of rock could long
Dry-eyed behold?”

PAGE 34. **Publica pecunia.** The act of murder was thought of as an offence against the Deity, and hence expiatory sacrifices (*piacularia sacrificia*) must be offered, and these at the public expense, because, by acquitting the offender, the people share his guilt.

• The subjects of the omitted chapters, XXVII–XXXI, are as follows :
 ~ War with the Fidenates, in which the Romans are victorious ; the faithless conduct of Mettius, and his execution ; Alba destroyed, and its inhabitants transferred to Rome.

XXXII. *Ancus Martius is appointed king, and renews the religious and peaceful institutions of Numa.—The form of declaring war by the Fetiales.*

29 9. **Et avitæ . . . memor, et quia, etc.** Two reasons assigned, but only the second given in form ; so above, c. 4, *seu ita rata*, etc., and below, c. 40, *Sed et—et quia*, etc. The clause *longeque*, etc., seems to carry out more fully the second of these reasons.

12. **Longe antiquissimum ;** by far the most important thing ; a secondary meaning of *antiquus*, perhaps, in the conservative Roman view, that what is long established and tried by experience is always the best.

14. **Album ;** see lexicon for the successive meanings of this word, and the one it has here, and also for the origin of the same word in English.

15. **Civibus ;** dat. limiting *facta*.

22. **Medium ;** i. e., the character of Ancus is thought of as holding a kind of middle place between two extremes, viz., the character of Romulus and that of Numa ; *memor* (as well as *medium*) agrees with *ingenium*. Translate, *Ancus, mindful alike of Romulus and Numa, united in himself the qualities of both.*

25. **Etiam ;** limits *credebat*, as well as *præterquam quod* ; besides believing, etc., *he also believed that*, etc.

30 29. **Instituisset ;** subjunctive, because the reason is given as in the mind of Ancus.

2. **Dedier ;** old form of the inf. passive. H. 239, 6. *Siris*, used for *siveris*, from *sino*.

15. **Quarum, etc.** The demonstrative limiting *censes* must be supplied, and the relative limits *condixit*, as often the genitive is used with verbs in legal and judicial forms of expression. *Condicere* is used of two parties who come to an agreement about any matter. The question is = *quid censes de iis rebus, litibus, causis, quarum*, etc.

17. **Priscorum.** On this word, see n. above, c. 3. *Hominesque*, etc. The special expression is added to the general, *populi*, etc., to insure

more exactness ; so too all the repetitions, as in the legal forms of all languages. PAGE
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34. Ubi dixisset ; the subjunctive of *repeated action*, or of *generality*, as it is sometimes called ; H. 486, III., 5. To see the difference of this subjunctive from the indicative with the same word *ubi*, compare the expression *id ubi dixit*, above, in c. 24, towards the end.

XXXIII. Ancus conquers Politorium, and transfers the inhabitants to Rome, assigning them the Aventine ; he joins the Janiculum to the city by a wall, and by the Pons Sublicius ; constructs the Quiritium Fossa, and builds Ostia.

6. Capitulum. See note on *arcem*, above, c. 11. 31

7. Aventinum. This neuter form is less common than *mons Aventinus*.

10. Quod vacuum. Probably the Latins had put a colony there, so that a second conquest of the place was necessary.

21. Ad Murciæ ; sc. *ædem*, an idiom, the same as in English, e. g., St. Peter's, St. Paul's. *Murcia* was a name of Venus, from the *myrtus* deemed sacred to her. The locality indicated was the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine, afterwards occupied by the Circus Maximus.

23. Non muro solum ; sc. *cingi* or *muniri*.

24. Sublicio ; from *sublica*, because the bridge was made of wood, not of stone. See the Plan of Rome.

25. Quiritium fossa. This was on the eastern side of the Quirinal, and was a defence on those places, which were level and easy of access.

28. Discrimine . . . confuse. *Facto* limits *discrimine*, and the words *recte an perperam facti* contain a double question, viz., whether any thing had been done right or wrong ; literally, it means the distinction being confounded, but it may be translated, *from a confounding of the distinction between right and wrong*.

29. Career ; at the foot of the Capitoline, and just above the Forum, near the place where now is the arch of Septimius Severus ; also called the Mamertine prisons, and also the Tullianum, or Tullianum robur, because Servius Tullus enlarged and strengthened it. Two cells, or dungeons, are extant under the Church of San Giuseppe, one above the other, and constructed of solid masses of the stone called peperino, which are remains of this first Roman prison.

32. Silva Mæsia ; on the right bank of the Tiber, below Rome, in Etruria.

33. Ostia ; at the mouth of the Tiber, the harbor of Rome.

PAGE XXXIV. *In the reign of Ancus, Lucumo comes from*
 31 *Tarquinii to Rome ; he assumes the name of Tarquin,*
wins favor and influence, and by and by is appointed,
in the king's will, guardian to the king's sons.

36. **Lucumo**; originally an Etruscan word for sovereign, and here used as a proper name.

32 1. **Tarquinii**; an Etruscan city on the river Marta, and one of the twelve confederate cities of Etruria, and the chief seat of power in southern Etruria. The legend of the Tarquins shows the connection of the place with Rome.

3. **Demarati**. He belonged to the ruling family of Corinth, called Bacchiadæ, whose power was destroyed by Cypselus, about 650 B. C.

11. **Egerio**; (from *egere*) for dative, see note on *pago*, c. 1.

12. **Lucumoni**; limits *facient*; and, with *auxit, eos*, referring to *animos*, must be supplied as the object.

14. **Et quæ . . . sinceret**; the demonstrative word to be supplied, e. g., a woman of *such character* that, etc.; the subjunctive thus expresses result.

19. **Potissimum**; used adverbially, and means *in preference to all other places*. *Visa, sc. est*, means *seemed good*. But the reading *potissima*, though of less MS. authority, would better agree with the usual meaning of *videri*.

23. **Una imagine**. Livy carries back to these remote times the custom of the Roman nobles to have in their atrium the images of ancestors who had held curule offices. The number of such belonging to different generations was a mark of the age of its nobility; here, a recent nobility, of only one generation. So a *novus homo*, one who was the first of his family to attain curule honors, was called *homo nullis imaginibus*.

24. **Persuadet**; *sc. ei*, to be in agreement with *cupido*; *ut cupido = ut qui cupidus esset*, expresses as well as *cui—patria esset* the reason of *persuadet*; *since he was desirous of honors, and Tarquinii was his country only on his mother's side*. See H. 519.

33. **Eam . . . ei . . . ejus**; emphatic; *that bird*, i. e., the eagle, in *that quarter of the heavens*, i. e., under which Rome lay, *of that god*, i. e., the bird of Jove.

XXXV. *Ancus adds a hundred new members to the senate, makes arrangements for a circus, and establishes the Roman games.*

33 14. **Regi creando**; limits *comitia*. H. 564, 3.

16. **Ambitiose**. See lexicon for the original meaning of the word (and

of *ambitio*), and its meaning here, as well as for the meaning, by derivation, of the English word *ambition*, and its cognates. PAGE 33

18. Quam, etc. As the words in this clause give the words of Tarquin, and as just below we have *eum*—*memorantem*, we may supply *diceret* with *cum*.

22. Ultro accitum. In the active, *ultro aliquem accire* would mean to call one voluntarily, and hence, in the passive, *ultro acciri*, to be called without one's solicitation.

23. Se, ex quo . . . fuerit. *Ex quo* = *ex eo tempore quo*, and *potens sui esse* = to be one's own master.

27. Hand pœnitendo ; exactly our expression in the received version of the Bible, "not to be repented of," and, as applied here to Ancus, meaning that he is a master of whom one need not be ashamed.

35. Centum. As mentioned above, c. 17, the senate numbered two hundred after the union with the Sabines; Tarquin now increases it to three hundred, taking the new members probably from the Luceres. These last were called *minorum gentium*, relatively to the members from the Ramnes and the Titienses.

4. Circo . . . locus ; the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine. 34

5. Ubi . . . spectacula facerent. *Facerent*, subjunctive of purpose, *ubi* = *ut in iis*. *Spectacula* = *loca*, *unde spectant*, literally seeing-places, like boxes in a theatre, the regular Latin word being *fori*.

6. Fureis . . . sustinentibus. Observe that *duodenos* is distributive, and *pedes* is the acc. of extent. The abl. abs. shows the circumstances under which they beheld the games.

8. Sollemnes . . . annui. *Sollemnes* with *annui* (like the word *stati*) signifies that they were held regularly (or, as we say sometimes, *statedly*) every year. The *Ludi* were called *Circenses* as well as *Romani* and *Magni*.

10. Ædificanda . . . loca ; places to be built upon, *building-lots*.

The subjects of the omitted chapters, XXXVI–XXXVIII, are as follows: War with the Sabines, accession to the equestrian centuries, victory over the Sabines, Collatia surrendered by the Sabines, and a stone wall built by Tarquin around the city.

XXXIX. Birth and childhood of Servius Tullius.

12. Visum ; supply *est*, so as to make a predicate to which *mirabile fuit* is joined by *que*.

13. Puero ; dat. limits *arsisse* ; H. 398, 5.

18. Donec . . . experrectus esset ; *donec* is elliptical, as, e. g., but to wait, or to leave him in quiet, *until*, etc. For the subjunctive, H. 521, I. Hand says, in his *Tursellinus*, II., pp. 294, 295, that the subjunctive in the

PAGE imperfect and pluperfect may follow *donec*, when there is an expressed or
 34 implied meaning, which is equivalent to *non priusquam* or *non diutius*.

20. *Viden?* ; for *videsne*.

27. *Quod...esset*. If *esset* is the true reading, it is a difficult instance of the subjunctive. The writer may have used it, in order not to assert the thing to be so positively, but as being so perhaps, or probably ; *what was probably agreeable to the gods readily came to pass*. But Madvig reads *est*, with which *evenit* would be present, and the meaning would be—what is agreeable to the will of the gods easily comes to pass.

36. *Servitio* ; abl. of separation ; *kept from slavery*.

35 4. *Quod...venerit* ; the clause explains *fortunam* ; *in that she came into the enemy's hands*, etc.

XL. *Tarquin is murdered by the sons of Ancus.*

10. *Non modo...sed ne...quidem* ; *not only not—but not—even*. In such negative sentences the *non* after *modo* is omitted, because the two clauses have the same predicate, and so the *ne* affects the former as well as the latter.

11. *Tum...iis*. *Iis* limits *crescere* ; H. 398, 5. But it will be observed that the sentence illustrates what is called *anacoluthon* (the Gr. expression for *non sequitur*), as the part of the sentence beginning *tum impensius* does *not follow up* what is gone before, and *iis crescere* begins a new construction, and the preceding subject, *filiis*, is left without a verb. The writer is drawn into such a change of construction by the desire to bring out more prominently the idea in *indignitas*.

13. *Servitiā* ; for *servos*, the abstract for the concrete.

15. *Tenuerit...fuerit* ; subjunctive of attraction.

20. *Sed et injuriā*, etc. From what had just been said, it might have been expected that the sons of Ancus would have proceeded directly against Servius. This sentence, in opposition to such a view, presents the grounds for their proceeding against the king.

21. *Et quia...tum*. As often (see note above, c. 32, on *et avitæ*, etc.), only the second reason is stated in form ; then *tum* introduces the third reason (as if, instead of *et—et*, had been used *primum—deinde*), because by an independent clause this third one gets more emphasis.

27. *Ferramentis* ; we might expect some participle, like *instructi*, for the abl. to limit ; but the abl. may limit *convertunt*, and *quibus* limits *consueti—erant*.

34. *Dum...avertetet*. The subjunctive is here used with *dum* (which means only *while*), after the analogy of *quum*. But Madvig reads here *quum*, and Alschevski, though preferring *dum*, yet gives *quum* as resting also on MS. authority.

XLI. *Servius succeeds Tarquin.*

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2. *Mirantium* ; plural, because *populi* is collective.

5. *Subesset* ; *impf.* subjunctive (with *comparat* as *hist.* present), because the implication is, that there is *not* hope ; but the present, in *destituat*, to represent the condition as possible.

13. *Expergiscere vere* ; in allusion to the narrative in c. 39 ; and *vere*, because the then awakening from sleep was only a symbol of the arousing of his mind to the attainment of the throne.

15. *At . . . sequere.* *At* has the force of *saltem* or *certe*, *at least*. Hand, Turs., I., 427.

17. *In novam Viam.* The Nova Via began at the northeast angle of the Palatium, and extended along the northern side of the hill, and then, turning at the northwest angle, extended along the western side.

18. *Ad Jovis* ; on the gen., see note above, c. 33, on *ad Murciæ*. This temple (see n. above, on *Porta Palatii*, c. 12) was near the Porta Palatii, near the eastern extremity of the Nova Via.

22. *Confidere* ; sc. *se* ; but with *jubere* supply *eum*, referring to *regem*.

23. *Tullio . . . dicto* ; on the two datives, H. 390, II. 3.

25. *Trabea* ; a regal, and afterwards consular, robe of state ; it was a toga ornamented with horizontal stripes of purple.

The subjects of the omitted chapters, XLII–XLIV, are as follows : *The victory of Servius Tullius over the Veintians and Etrurians, the census of Servius, and the comitia centuriata.*

XLV. *Servius builds with the Latins the temple of Diana on the Aventine.*

2. *Jam tum* ; *already at that time* ; an unexpected thing, that so early 37 the fame of the temple should be so wide extended. The temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was the common sanctuary of the twelve Ionian states ; the building of it began in the sixth century before Christ, but was not completed till 400 B. C. It was reckoned among the wonders of the world.

5. *Laudare* ; historical infinitive.

12. *Uni . . . ex Sabinis, etc.* ; this clause corresponds to the concessive *quamquam*, etc., the Sabines as represented by one of their number thus being put in contrast with the Latins. The Sabines are represented by Livy as striving, in common with the Latins, for preëminence over the Romans.

25. *Perfunderis* ; the passive is used reflexively. *Infima—præfluit* ; *flows by at the foot of the valley* ; the abl. construed poetically, like an abl. of place ; H. 422, 1, 2).

27. *Responderet* ; subjunctive with *qui*, denoting the reason. II. 519.

PAGE XLVI. *Lucius Tarquin and the younger Tullia aspire to*
 37 *the throne.*

30. Usus. *Usus*, like our word *prescription*, expresses a claim which is gained by long actual possession.

33. Conciliata...diviso. The abl. abs. *agro diviso* expresses the means by which the *conciliata*—*voluntate* takes place; *having first conciliated the favor of the common people by the division of the land, etc.*

34. Ad populum. The *populus* is now, since the formation of the comitia centuriata, the whole people voting in that national assembly. On *vellent*, etc., see n. above, on *rogandis*, c. 17. *Ferre* is used absolutely, instead of *ferre rogationem*, to put the question.

38 **3. Ipse juvenis.** Why not abl. absolute, like *uxore—stimulante*?

5. Et Romana regia. The *et* means *also*, the writer meaning to say that the Roman royal house, as well as the royal families of Thebes and Mycenæ, was destined to afford an instance of tragic crime. *Tragici*, because such Greek instances, as the murder of Agamemnon by Clytemnestra, were themes of tragic poetry.

9. Ediderim ; edere, fr. *e* and *dare*, literally, to give out, and then often used (as above, c. 18) for say, declare; and the subjunctive, like our potential, *I should say*, gives a softened or doubtful form to the assertion.

12. Ita inciderat, ne, etc. It is not result which is here expressed, in which case *ut non* would have been used, but the *ita* refers back to the preceding sentence; it had happened so (i. e., that there should be this disparity), *in order that the two violent natures should not*, etc.

19. Cessaret audacia. The preposition being omitted, the abl. seems to be used with *cessare*, as a verb of want. H. 419, III. The construction is also not unlike that of the abl. of separation.

23. De viro...virum ; concerning (her) husband to (his) brother, concerning her sister to (her sister's) husband.

26. Elanguescendum...esset. What pronoun is to be supplied, as dat. of the agent?

29. Temeritatis implet. For genitive, H. 410, 7, 2).

XLVII. *The conspiracy of Tarquin and Tullia against*
Servius.

33. Infestior ; used passively ; *more insecure.*

37. Non sibi, etc. ; oratio obliqua, with some word of saying (*dixit*) understood; *that there had not been wanting to her one to whom she might be said to be married*, etc.; i. e., she was called the wife of Arruns, but would rather be the wife of Lucius.

5. Istic; i. e., in te. *Accingeris* is reflexive; *why do you not gird yourself up?* The expression is used from girding up the dress (e. g. the toga) about the waist, when any exertion was to be made; as in the scripture expression, "*Gird up the loins of your mind.*" PAGE 39

20. Prensare; like *ambire, ambitio*, etc. (see n. above, c. 35), *prensare* was used of candidates soliciting office, from their seizing hold of the citizens, and detaining them by their solicitations.—*Minorum g.*; see above, note c. 35, on this word.

25. Pro curia; not before the *curia*, in the sense of being outside, as the throne was inside; but *pro* is more exact than *in*, because, though Tarquin was *in* the *curia*, the throne was so far advanced towards the middle of the hall that he had a part of the hall behind him as he sat.

28. Fraudi; for dat., H. 390, II. 2, the other dat. being omitted.

3. Unde; a relative expression = *ex quibus*, and this = *ut ex iis*, and 40
so the subjunctive follows.

XLVIII. *The death of Servius.*

8. Quum ille; sc. *dirisset*.—*Patris sui...sedem.* He thinks of the throne, as hereditary, and so his, rather than the throne of Servius.

10. Per licentiam eludentem; *playing his insolent game*, literally playing it out with license; the expression gives intenseness to the *insultasse*. *Dominis* is used, in reference to the servile origin of Servius.

12. Regnaturum, qui vicisset; in *oratio recta*, *regnabit qui vicerit*. See n. above, c. 24, *ibi—fuerit*.

25. Ad summum Cyprium vicum. The location of the *Cyprian* quarter, or *street*, as it may be translated, is not definitely known. It probably ran under the western extremity of the Esquiline, the height called *Carinæ*; and from the *top* of it (*summum*) one turned to the right into the *Urbian* street, which ran easterly up the Esquiline. The word *Cyprius* is derived by Varro from the Sabine word *cyprus* = *bonus*.

26. Flectenti carpentum; sc. *ei*, referring to Tullia, and limiting *restitit*; = *flectere jubenti*, or *cum flecteret*; may be translated, *when she was turning the chariot*, etc. But it is an unusual construction. Weisenborn takes *flectenti* as an abs. absolute with a pronoun understood.

35. Quibus iratis...sequerentur. The subjunctive expresses what was necessarily to follow so impious an act. The Penates must needs avenge such an act.

5. Quia...esset. The subjunctive, because the reason is given as that of Servius; *unius* is the gen. predicate. His reason was, that the government was a *monarchy*. 41

6. Ni...intervenisset. The conclusion corresponding to the condition *ni*, etc., must be supplied as, e. g., *quod deposuisset*.

PAGE XLIX. *Tarquinius Superbus comes to the throne ; the first*
41 *acts of his reign.*

8. **Superbo**; for dat., see n. above, on *pago*, c. 1.

17. **Regnaret**; for subjunctive, H. 519.

18. **Reponenti**; sc. *ei*, or *alicui*, and limiting *tutandum* as dat. of agent; *that, by one reposing no hope in the affection of the citizens, the throne needed to be protected by fear.*

21. **Bonis**; for the abl., see n. above, c. 15, on *parte*.

22. **Unde...posset**; *unde* = *a quibus*, and so the subjunctive, according to H. 501, I. *Unde* is thus often used in reference to persons, though originally *local* in its meaning.

35. **Ab Ulix**; through his father, Telegonus, as the son of Ulysses and Circe. Telegonus was the traditional founder of Tusculum.

The subjects of chapters L–LII are as follows: *The assembly of the Latins at the grove of Ferentina, and the invective there of Turnus of Aricia against Tarquin; the plot of Tarquin against Turnus, and the assassination of Turnus, and the renewal of the league with the Latins.*

LIII. *Tarquin appropriates the spoils of the conquered city of Suessa Pometia to the building of a temple of Jupiter.*

42 2. **Degeneratum**; the neuter part. is here used substantively, as often in Livy.

4. **In ducentos...annos**. See n. above, c. 22, on *in tricesimum diem*.

The subjects of chapters LIV–LV are as follows: *The reduction of Gabii through the wiles of Sextus Tarquinius; the prodigies at the building of the temple of Jupiter.*

LVI. *Tarquin constructs the Cloaca Maxima, and sends his sons, with Brutus, to Delphi, to consult the oracle.*
—*The story of the feigned madness of Brutus.*

11. **Ex Etruria**. The Capitoline temple had also been built after the Etruscan order of architecture; the art was early cultivated in Etruria.

13. **Operis**; abl. plural of *opera*, in sense of *operariis*, in the same way as our word *help* is often used for the persons who render it. *Operariis, workmen* (literally, operatives).

15. **Quam**; limits *gravabatur*, to be supplied between *quam* and *postquam*.

17. **Foris**. See n. above, c. 35, on *spectacula*. The *fori* were probably now made at public expense.

17. Cloacam. The work of drainage was begun by the elder Tarquin, PAGE
as Livy has narrated in c. 38; but this main sewer was the work of 42
Superbus. It first extended only from the Velabrum, on the west of the
Palatine, to the river, but was afterwards carried back as far as the
Subura. It still stands, a massive monument of the greatness of Rome
in the regal period. It is formed of three tiers of arches, one within the
other, the innermost being a semicircular vault, fourteen feet in diameter.
See Dict. Antiqq. for a full account of this sewer, under *Cloaca*.

23. Signiam Circiosque. See Geogr. Index. Both these were prob-
ably meant to be used by Rome as strongholds against Volscean power;
also the latter was doubtless meant to be of service as a seaport.

26. In regiam; limits *fuga*, and so the acc. is used.

31. Sortium. The *sortes* were the oracular responses, written upon
little tablets; called *sortes*, because they were usually drawn by lot by
those who consulted the oracle.

35. Cujus; some antecedent to be supplied, as, e. g., *juvenis (fuit);*
far different in nature than the youth was, whose, etc.

5. Bruti...cognomen. The word Brutus means dull, under-witted. 43
Dr. Arnold translates by, "the dullard."

6. Liberator; the meaning is much the same as if Livy had written
liberaturus—populum Romanum; *that mind* which was destined to be
the liberator of the Roman people.

21. Quod...esset. The subjunctive, because the reason is ascribed
to Brutus.

LVII. *War with the Rutulians; the dispute, at the quar-
ters of S. Tarquinius, of the royal youth, touching the
merits of their wives; the superiority accorded to Lu-
cretia; the base passion of Sextus for Lucretia.*

25. Ut in ea, etc. The *ut* limits *præpollens*; but the clause is ellipti-
cal, and we may supply (after the analogy of the passage above, in c. 18,
where see n. on *ut in illa*, etc.) *quæquam esse (or fieri) poterat*; literally,
as any state could be in that region, etc.; may be translated, *for
that region and that age.* A similar ellipsis with *ut* occurs in Livy, 21,
34; 30, 33; also in Cic. de Orat., 3, 18; De Senectute, 4; Cicero's
Brutus, 10.

29. Præter aliam, etc. *Regno*, not Tarquin's government merely, but,
in general, *a regal form of government.* The clause, *quod*, etc., contains
a particular illustration of the *superbia*; hence, *aliam.*

1. Ubi; = *apud quem.*

11. Ubi Lucretiam...inveniunt. This poetic description of Lucretia

PAGE well illustrates the domestic manners of Grecian and Roman women, and
44 reminds us of many a pleasant picture of home-life in the pages of Homer and of Virgil. In the houses of even the rich and high-born, the articles of clothing were wrought by the hands of the women of the household, the mistress and her daughters, assisted by the female slaves. Thus, in a fine comparison in the Iliad, 12, 433, we see a poor woman toiling for her children; and Iliad, 6, 490, Odyssey, 5, 59, Od. 10, 221, we find Andromache, Calypso, and Circe, engaged in similar occupations. So, too, in Virgil, Æneid 7, 14; 8, 408, and in Georg. 1, 293. See Dict. Antiqq., *Tela*.

14. In medio ædium; i. e., in the atrium. The atrium was the first as well as the largest saloon in a Roman house, and was the sitting-room of the family. Here stood the looms, *telæ ex vetere more in atrio texebantur*—Asconius, ad Cic. pro Milone, c. 5. See Becker's Gallus, pp. 191–97, and Dict. Antiqq., *Roman House*.

LVIII. *The rape of Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius, and the suicide of Lucretia.*

34. Sordido; i. e., with a slave, *base adultery*.

36. Velut victrix; *velut*, because only apparently so; the real conqueror was the *terror*, as shown by *terrore vicisset*.

45 1. Eundem Ardeamque; literally, and the same to Ardea; and also to Ardea.

3. Facto...opus. For the abl., H. 419, V. 3, 1). *Maturatoque* adds what is special and important; *need of action, and speedy action too*.

8. Satin?; = *satisne*; *salve*, as an adv., limits *agis*, which is to be supplied, or *agitur*. *Is all well?* But another reading is, *satin' salvæ*, sc. *res sunt*, which would certainly agree better with *quid—salvi*, which follows. The expression *satin' salvæ* also occurs in Livy, 6, 34; 10, 18.

13. Impune adultero. The dat. with *impune*, after the analogy of such expressions as *recte esse, bene esse*, with the dative.

16. Animi. For gen., H. 399, 3, 4).

18. Unde...abfuerit. *Unde* is equivalent to a relative pronoun limiting *abfuerit*, and the antecedent of which limits *abesse*.

19. Vos...videritis. The fut. perf. for the simple future, with the idea of speedy action; indeed, it approaches the force of an imperative; and the *vos* is emphatic. *You will see*, or *look you* to that, etc. So, also, *videris*, Livy, 2, 40, and *viderit*, 3, 45. See H. 473, 1.

23. Conclamat; agrees with the nearer subject; *conclamare* is used in accordance with the usage of *crying out*, and calling the departed by name. The brief sentence makes the transition to the next chapter.

LIX. *Conspiracy against Tarquin, under the direction of Brutus.* PAGE
45

32. Unde...ingenium. What verb, and in what mood, to be supplied to agree with *ingenium*?

3. Quod...deceret. The antecedent of *quod* is *capiendi*, etc.; and the subjunctive in *deceret*, because it gives the view of Brutus; = *which*, as he said, *became*, etc. So also, below, l. 19, the subj. in *cui*—*esset*.

6. Pari; used here in the sense of *adequate*.

15. Ad tribunum Celerum. He was the chief of the Celeres, or the king's body-guard, and next in authority to the king, and so could summon the people to an assembly. Probably, however, a decree of the senate had preceded his action.

27. Indignitas...subjicit, etc. After *subjicit*, a word like *loquenti* may be supplied, and *scriptoribus* limits *facilia*; *which the existing shameful character of the circumstances suggests* (to a speaker), but which are *by no means easy for writers to relate*.

LX. *The Tarquins expelled from Rome, and L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus appointed consuls.*

3. Flexit viam; turned out of the regular road, *took a circuitous route*, like the French *détour*. 47

8. Exsulatum...ierunt. The 24th of March of this year (507 B. C.) was afterwards celebrated as the day of the expulsion, and was called *Regifugium*.

14. Consules. Probably the original word was *prætor*, as said in Livy 3, 55, and in 7, 3 (whence *prætorium*, and other words). The word consul dates from the period just after the Decemvirate.

15. Comitii. For abl., H. 426, 1.

BOOK SECOND.

I. *Brutus binds the people by an oath to allow no one hereafter to be king in Rome.*

1. Liberi. This word stands at the head of this book, to designate the commonwealth by its characteristic spirit of liberty, and the *jam hinc* marks this new point of departure for the fortunes of the Roman people. 48

2. Legum...hominum; the former word for the laws made by the people, and the latter for the arbitrary will of kings, as respectively the

PAGE source of power under the commonwealth, and under the regal gov-
48 ernment.

8. *Numerentur*. For the tense, H. 482, 2.

9. *Pessimo publico*. The adjectives are used substantively in the neuter, and together = *maximo malo reipublicæ* ; literally, for the greatest injury to the state ; *to the greatest injury of the state*.

10. *Facturus fuerit* ; *would have done*. The perfect in the periphrastic conjugation, both of the indicative and of the subjunctive, has in hypothetical sentences the force of the pluperfect subjunctive.

11. *Futurum fuit* ; *would have been* the result ; see preceding note ; also H. 510, 2.

13. *Templi* ; in allusion to the Asylum of Romulus. See I. 8.

21. *Possent* ; agrees with a pronoun referring to *res*.

22. *Quia...factum est, quam quod diminutum...sit*. While *quia* and *quod* both denote a cause, Livy uses *quia* with the indicative for a real cause, and one held by himself, but *quod* with the subjunctive for a supposed cause, or one alleged by some one else.

49 7. *Cædibus regis* ; *by the king's murders*, i. e., those which the king had brought about. Is the genitive, then, subjective or objective ?

9. *Traditumque, etc.* Livy here explains the origin of the expression *patres conscripti* (originally, *patres et conscripti*), used in summoning the senate, and explains the difference between *patres* and *conscripti*.

12. *Mirum quantum* ; an adverbial expression which originated in *mirum est quantum*, and, being adverbial, does not require the verb to be in the subjunctive.

II. *A king of the sacrifices is appointed.—Collatinus, having become an object of suspicion, on account of his relation to the Tarquins, resigns the consulship, and retires from the city to Lavinium.*

17. *Regem sacrificium* ; also called *rex sacrorum*, king of the sacrifices, a *kingly priest*. Under the regal government, the king was, by virtue of his rank, high-priest, and performed in person some of the *publica sacra*. As it was feared that some wrong would be done, if these *sacra* were not performed by a *rex*, they make this office of *rex sacrificulus* ; and yet, in their jealousy for the liberty of the people, they make this office subordinate to the pontifex.

20. *Nimis* ; limits *muniendo*, and its meaning is illustrated by *undique* and *minimis rebus*.

21. *Excesserint*. Following *an*, this is the subjunctive of an indirect question. In all such expressions, following *nescio an*, the writer's

opinion leans to the affirmative; e. g., Livy here is inclined to think that the Romans went too far in their defence of liberty. See H. 526, II. 2, 2). PAGE 49

25. Tamquam alieni; as another's. *Tamquam*, though generally used of something not real, is here used for something that is real, the meaning being, that the kingdom really belonged to some one else.—**Velut, etc.** We might expect an adversative particle, as this is implied; but *had regained it, as if*, etc.

14. Alternis, sc. vicibus; *alternately*.

50

16. Privato; i. e., at the expiration of the year of his office, when he would be a *private citizen*.

20. Comitilis; abl. of time; H. 426, 1. *Creavit* is used, because, as the presiding officer of the comitia, which appointed him, he may be said to have appointed him himself.

III. *The conspiracy of young Romans against the state.—Ambassadors from the Tarquins ask for the restitution of their property.*

24. Spe...serius; later than the expectation of all; later than any had expected. H. 417, 6.

27. Nec hi...orti; and these, too, of no mean descent.

32. A quo...opus sit. *Jus* and *injuria* are each the subject of *sit*, and the indeclinable *opus* is the predicate; literally, where right, where wrong, is necessary; *from whom you may gain what you need, whether it be right or wrong*.

51

1. Sola innocentia vivere; to rely upon one's innocence alone. There might be cases where one would need the clemency of a king, to save him from punishment; but executive clemency were possible also under a republic. The passage has a tone of irony throughout, which well illustrates the sentiments of a corrupt nobility, now forced to exchange the license of a bad monarchy for the impartiality of a republic.

2. Ægris animis; abl. abs.; while their minds were thus disaffected.

5. Tenuit; intransitive; continued. *Ne non*, etc. There is implied, in the long deliberation just mentioned, the idea of solicitude; hence, *ne—eset*, as if a verb of fearing were expressed.

8. Quod agi videbatur; i. e., the recovery of the property, which was only the ostensible purpose of their going about.

IV. *The conspiracy is discovered.*

21. Sumpsissent. The clause being explanatory of *causam moræ*, the subjunctive is used according to H. 527. In *asportarent*, it is the relative of purpose, which requires the subjunctive.

PAGE 21. **Qui credituros.** For the form *qui*, see H. 188, 2. *Credituros*, 51 sc. *esse*, in infinitive, according to H. 530, II. 2. *Eos* refers to the Tarquins. *For, otherwise, how would they believe that the things which were reported by their ambassadors about matters of so great importance, were not unreliable?*

28. **Et cenatum.** *Et* seems to be out of place here, though it is established by the best authority. If it is genuine, it serves to introduce this clause, and corresponds to the *que* (*conjunctive*) which joins the next one. Literally, it would thus mean *both, or on the one hand*; but it need not be translated.

52 1. **Commisisse ut, etc.** *Committere* is here used absolutely, as often; *to have acted so as to be regarded as* (literally, in the place of) *enemies*.

2. **Jus tamen gentium valuit**; because the law of nations made the person of ambassador inviolable.

V. *The property of the Tarquins is given over to the people, and a field belonging to them is consecrated to Mars, as the Campus Martius.—The conspirators, and among them the sons of Brutus, are beheaded.*

3. **Reddi**; apparently = *reddenda esse*, which last is used above, with *censere*, in c. 4.—**Res integra refertur**; *the subject is referred entire*; i. e., just as if there had been no action taken upon it.

5. **Contacta**; in nominative, and agrees with a pronoun referring to *plebs*; literally, being touched by; *having shared in*. *Contacta* implies that the king might consider them contaminated, and so as criminal, for having shared in the plunder of his property.

8. **Martius...campus**; the plain enclosed by the bend of the Tiber and the Pincian Hill on the north, and the Quirinal and the Capitoline on the east and south; now appropriated entire by the state, and henceforth used for public purposes, as the place for the holding of the *comitia centuriata*, and for military and gymnastic exercises.

10. **Quia religiosum**; *because it was a matter of religious scruple*. The field had been consecrated to Mars, and so men had scruples of conscience about using a crop which had grown in it.

11. **Immissa**; sc. *in campum*, or *in segetem*; *immissa* is nom., agreeing with *vis*.

14. **Sedissee**; from *sidere*; *settled down*. *Acervos sedisse* depends upon *ferunt*. *Inde* refers to *acervos*, and is equivalent to *iis*, and so is connected by *et* to *aliis*; *that gradually out of these, and by other things borne to the same place*. The *insula* is the *Insula Tiberina*, or, as it is now called, from a church which is upon it, *Isola di S. Bartolommeo*, the Island of St. Bartholomew. It is also called, from its shape, the *Shio of the Tiber*.

16. Adjutum; sc. *esse*. The verb is impersonal; literally, that it was aided by the hand; *that aid was rendered by the hand of art.* PAGE 52

17. Templis. The most celebrated of these was the temple of Æsculapius; others, those of Faunus and Jupiter. *Templis*, with *sustinendis*, as the dative of purpose. See H. 564, 2.

19. Quod; belongs both to *imposuit* and to *dedit*.

26. Patriam; the object of *proderent*. The object of the verb *induxisse* is the clause *ut—proderent*. On the meaning of *inducere in animum*, see n. I. 17.

32. Vultusque et os; added by *que* to *pater*, because here especially, as men looked on, they saw the emotion of the father. *Vultus et os*, literally, the features and the face; but, as *vultus* means the expression, in the face, of any emotion, we may translate, *and the expression of his countenance*.

33. Eminente, etc.; *the feelings of the father breaking forth during the execution of a public punishment*. The struggle between the father and the consul is expressed by the contrasted words, *patrio* and *publicæ*.

37. Vindicta liberatus. *Vindicta*, from *vindicare*, was the name given to the rod (*virga*) by which the head of a slave was touched when he was to be made free. The person who touched him, whether it was the prætor or a lictor, uttered, at the same moment, the form, *aio te liberum more Quiritium*. This was called *manumissio per vindictam*, and was the earliest mode of emancipation. *Vindicio*; the dative, by attraction to *ipsi*, instead of *vindicium* as appositive of *nomen*.

VI. War with Veii and Tarquiniî, in which Brutus falls in a battle with Aruns Tarquinius.

8. Se; in abl. after *ortum*, and refers to the subject of *sinerent*. 53

9. Ex...regno; not to be taken with *extorrem*, but is an independent expression; literally, just now from so great a kingdom; i. e., *who had recently possessed so great a kingdom*.

15. Bona sua; the reflexive *sua* refers to the subject of the principal verb, Tarquin, while the *se*, just before, refers of course to *eos*, the subject of its own clause.

20. Romano saltem duce; *that at least with a Roman as a leader*.

26. Quadrato agmine; *with the army drawn up in a square*; i. e., in order of battle, as this was the old method of drawing up the army.

28. Primus...agminis fuit; i. e., the cavalry formed the enemy's van.

30. Procul; this word, and *propius*, both modify *cognovit*. He knew from a distance by the lictors that he was a consul, and then, from a nearer point, recognized Brutus by his face.

36. Decorum...tum; in distinction from later times, when, as in

PAGE modern warfare, the generals only gave the orders, and did not personally engage in fight.

- 54 3. **Parmam.** The *parma* was a circular shield, about three feet in diameter, used by light-armed infantry, and by cavalry.

VII. *Brutus is mourned by the Roman women for a year.—Valerius, being suspected of aiming at regal power, removes all such suspicions by a speech in an assembly of the people.*

15. **Silva Arsia**; a wood near the Janiculan hill.

16. **Uno**; for the abl., see H. 418.

24. **Quod...fuisset.** For the subjunctive, see H. 520, II., and n. II., 1.

29. **Velia.** A hill on the eastern extremity of the Forum, and reaching from the Palatine to the Esquiline.

36. **Jussis**; in abl. abs. with *iis* understood.

- 55 2. **Occubisset.** See H. 520, II.—**Ad crimen...superesse**; remained for accusation and odium.

7. **Timerem.** The imp. here has the force of a pluperfect; H. 486, 4. So, also, just below, *si—habitare—credere*. *Timerem* is followed by the acc. with infinitive, *ipsum—subitum*, because those words make the object of *timerem*. See Madvig, § 376, Obs.

9. **Levi momento...pendet.** *Momentum*, fr. *movimentum* (*movere*), literally, something that moves, a moving power, is used here with *pendere*, for something that turns a scale; *does my reputation with you hang upon a thing of so slight moment?* The preposition *ex* or *de* is sometimes expressed in such cases.

17. **Vicæ Potæ**; an epithet of the goddess of victory, the goddess *quæ vincit et potitur*. For the gen., see n. on *ad Murciæ*, I. 33.

VIII. *The Consul Valerius has the law of appeal to the people passed.—The temple of Jupiter on the capitol is consecrated.*

19. **Absolverent**; with *quæ*, the subjunctive of result, the demonstrative pronoun to be supplied; *laws of such a nature that they not only freed, etc.*

21. **De provocatione.** There had been a right of *provocatio*, or appeal, under the kings, but a limited one; now it was extended to all citizens. This law, and the other one mentioned directly after, were passed by the people at the *comitia centuriata*.

22. Sacrandoque...capite; and the devoting the life together with the PAGE
property. Such a *lex sacrata* put a ban of outlawry upon the offender; 55
any one might with impunity take his property, as well as put him to
death. The verb *sacrare* and the adjective *sacer* are thus used in a bad
sense, the former meaning to devote to the infernal gods.

25. Collegæ subrogando. For the dat., H. 564, 3. For the primary
meaning of *subrogare*, as a compound of *rogare*, see n. on the latter,
I. 17.

32. Fecerit; for the subjunctive, H. 520, II.

2. Tenenti. It was the custom for the consul to hold the door-post 56
of the temple, while he uttered, after the pontifex, the prayer of dedication.

3. Incutiant. *Incutere nuntium* is here equivalent to *incutere terrorem*
nuntio; they terrify (the consul) with the shocking message, etc. The
family was said to be *funesta*, ceremonially defiled, so long as the body of
a deceased member of it remained unburied.

4. Non crediderit, etc. *Utrum* is to be supplied; whether he did not
believe that it was the fact, or that he had so great strength of mind.

6. Nihil aliud...quam. *Nihil aliud*, literally, as to nothing else, lim-
its *aversus*; turned from his purpose—no otherwise than, etc.

IX. War of Porsina, of Clusium, with Rome.

11. Lartem Persinam. *Lars* is an Etruscan name of rank, for either
the head of a family, or for a king, or a prince; perhaps allied to the
English word lord. The name of the king of Clusium is also written
Porsenna and *Porsēna*. In the Greek are found *Πορσίνας* and *Πορσίλως*,
and *Πορσίνας* and *Πορσηνῶς*.

25. Timebant; has for its subject a pronoun referring back to *senatus*,
taken collectively.

30. Salis quoque, etc. The construction of *salinæ* has been men-
tioned above, in I. 33; they seem to have been farmed out to pri-
vate citizens, and so, from the business having become a monopoly, the
salt was sold at too high a price (*venibat* agrees with *sal* understood);
the state, therefore, had to assume the manufacture and sale of the
article.

31. Sumpta; probably some word, as, e. g., *translato* or *recepto*, is
lost from the text; all the expense attending the business being transferred
to the public treasury.

33. Oneri ferendo essent. This is a peculiarity of construction under
the rule for the dat. of the gerund or gerundive (see H. 564; Madvig,
415, Obs. 1); we should expect some adjective, as *pares*, or *idonei*; but
the *esse* with the gerund seems to be an idiom for *to be able to*—; as
here, *were able to bear the burden*.

- PAGE 34. Si...educent. *Educent* is the reading of the best MSS.; the present tense seems to make the thing less contingent, and also, like the historic present in direct discourse, to give it more liveliness, as well as more prominence. But others read *educerent*.

X. *Horatius Cocles defends the Sublician bridge against the Etruscans.*

- 57 6. *Dedit*. The perfect is used, as if it were the real conclusion to *ni—fuisset*; in order to give more liveliness to the expression. See H. 512, 2, 2).

13. *Transitum*; to be taken as a noun, and appositive to *pontem*; the bridge as a passage; i. e., *the passage of the bridge*. Others take *transitum* as a participle, for which certainly there is authority in Livy, XXI. 43, and in one or two other passages.

16. *Pessint*. See n., above, on *educent*, c. 9, for this present tense. *Posset*, just below, makes the thing far more conditional.

18. *Insignisque...armis*. *Insignis* is limited by *obversis—armis*; *cedentium* limits *terga*; *pugnae*, in the dat., limits *cedentium*; and *conspicuous*, among those whose backs were seen as they gave way to the fight, by his arms turned toward the enemy for the purpose of entering upon a battle hand to hand.

25. *Exigua...rescindebant*; when a small part of the bridge was left, and those who were cutting it down were calling them back.

28. *Servitia*; used for *servos*, and is appositive to the subject of *venire*. *Servitium*, in its proper sense of *slavery*, carries with it something of disparagement, in distinction from *servitus*, which expresses the legal condition of a slave.

30. *Cunetati, etc.*; for some time they stopped, while they look around, one upon another, to begin the fight. Macaulay renders it thus, in his Lay of Horatius:

“Six spears’ length from the entrance,
Halted that mighty mass,
And for a space no man came forth,
To win the narrow pass.”

34. *Ingenti gradu*; with mighty stride. *Gradus*, used of a soldier or of a gladiator, signifies the step or the position taken, and *ingenti* pictures Horatius as covering the entire entrance to the bridge; as Seneca says, Epist. 120 (quoted by Drakenborch), *Horatius Cocles solus implevit pontis angustias*.

- 58 1. *Tiberine*. *Tiberinus* is used as the name of the deity or the genius of the river; hence called *pater* and *sancte*.

2. *Ita sic armatus*; so, armed as he was. *Ita* introduces the clause,

and *sic* qualifies *armatus*, as in Shakespeare's expression in Julius Caesar, PAGE
 "upon the word, accoutred as I was." 58

7. *Quantum...circumaravit*; as much as he compassed with a plough in one day. So Seneca, *de Benef.*, 7, 7, says, *arando uno die circumire*. The largeness of the gift is just what we might expect in the legend.

(XI. *Porsina lays siege to Rome.*)

XII. *The story of Mucius Scaevola, or Mucius the Left-handed.*

16. *Liberum...obsideri*. This clause contains the principal thought, the indignity meant by *indignum*, and yet is made cōordinate with the preceding one, *populum—obsessum esse*. The whole may be translated thus: *that that same Roman people, which, when in servitude under kings, had been besieged in no war and not by any enemies, was now, when free, besieged, etc.*

17. *Itaque, etc.* Another instance of *anacoluthon* (see n. I. 40, on *tum—iis*). *Itaque* resumes the thought begun with *quum C. Mucius*, but goes on as if a verb had already been expressed with *Mucius*; *itaque* is thus equal to a repetition of *Mucius*, as in English we might say: *Mucius, I say, etc.*

22. *Fortuna, etc.* *Fortuna* expresses the perilous condition of the city; literally, the condition of the city at that time, *the existing condition of the city*. *Affirmante* = *credibile reddente, giving probability to the charge*.

30. *Adirent*; to be joined with *quum*, like *ageret*.

32. *Quo*; refers to *scribam*, and = *ad quem*.

36. *Destitutus*. The *de* in the word gives the meaning of *down, set down*, i. e., below the tribunal, as well as *before (ante) it*.

1. *Romanns*; placed first for emphasis, *a Roman citizen am I*; the idea is similar to that in the words that follow, *et facere—Romanum est*. 59

6. *Ut capite dimices*; to contend for your life, *capite* = *vita*; but, ordinarily, we find *de capite dimicare*.

9. *Uni tibi, etc.* *Res erit* may be translated, literally, *the affair will be*, and *et* is added with emphasis, *yes, and with us one by one*.

13. *En tibi*; the dative gives the force of an imperative to the exclamation; *see there!* The *ut sentias*, etc., then gives the purpose of the speaker's action.

19. *Juberem macte*. *Macte*, either alone or with the imperative, is used as an expression of praise and congratulation, like "Bravo!" or, "Go on and prosper!" *Macti* is also found. The two words are generally regarded as the voc. sing. and plural of a defective adjective, but

PAGE Madvig (268, Obs. 3, note) considers this a mistaken view. *Macte* here, 59 with the infin., can be explained only by the dependence of the expression on *juberem*; we should of course expect an acc. *I would bid you prosper in valor.*

23. *Ut...tuleris*; the perf. where in English the present is used; *that you may gain from me by kindness*; i. e., by the kindness you have shown me. After *nequisti* some word is to be supplied, as, e. g., *dicam*, on which *trecenti*, etc., depends.

26. *Utumque...primi*. *Primi* limits *sors* understood; *according as the lot of the first one shall fall out*; i. e., according as he shall be successful or not.

XIII. *Porsina makes proposals of peace.—The story of Clælia.*

28. *Scævake*; dative, as appositive to *cui*. The word is derived from *scæva*, the left hand, and so means the left-handed.

31. *Texisset*; the subjunctive, because the thought is given as Porsina's.

35. *Quia...nequiverat*, etc. See n. on *quia* and *quod*, II. c. 1.

36. *De agro...impetratum*; literally, it was gained concerning, etc.; i. e., *the restoration of the territory to the Veientians was gained.*

60 5. *Quæ*; H. 445, 4, for the relative agreeing with the predicate noun.

16. *Deditam*; = *si dedatur*, and the *que* after *inviolatam* = *etiam* or *eamque*; so if she were surrendered, *he would send her back, and send her her too, unharmed.*

20. *Laudatamque virginem*, etc. *Parte* here means a half; the whole may be rendered thus: *and, having commended the virgin, he said that he would present her with half the hostages, she herself might choose whom she pleased.* *Legeret* in the subjunctive, because of the *oratio obliqua*.

23. *Probabile*; seems to approach the force of the participle; *was approved by the unanimous consent of the hostages themselves.*

26. *In summa*, etc.; *at the top of the sacred way*; i. e., where the street runs over the Velia, near by the Porta Mugionis. See n., I, p. 14, l. 12.

* The subjects of the omitted chapters, XIV–XXXIII, are as follows: *Porsina sends his son Aruns to attack Aricia, also sends ambassadors to Rome for the restoration of Tarquin; Tarquin returns to Tusculum; wars with the Sabines, and with the Auruncans, with triumphs on the part of the Romans; the first dictator, T. Lartius, appointed on occasion of a war with the Sabines and the Latins; Tarquin, with a Latin army, marches against Rome; the battle of the Regillus, and the victory of the Romans; the death of Tarquin; war with the Volsci; internal commotions occasioned by the oppres-*

sive action of the law of debt, which bring about the secession of the plebs to PAGE
the Mons Sacer ; by the mediation of Menenius Agrippa, the plebs return, 60
concessions are made to them, and the tribunate of the people restored ; cap-
ture of Corioli by C. Marcius Coriolanus.

XXXIV. *In a time of famine, Coriolanus proposes to offer corn to the plebs at a low price, on condition that they do away with the office of tribune of the people.*

On the story, which is told in this chapter, and the remaining chapters selected from this book, the student should read Shakespeare's play of Coriolanus ; and also the life of Coriolanus in Plutarch.

30. Quanti...daretur. At this time there was a scarcity of provisions, and the common people were in distress.

32. Secessione ; the first secession (B. C. 492) of the commons, who withdrew to a hill beyond the Anio, which was afterwards called the Sacred Hill. The immediate cause was the pecuniary distress to which they were reduced by the oppressive action of the law of debt. To secure their return, the patricians were obliged to yield to terms of compromise.

33. Annonam...veterem. *Annona*, primarily, the yearly produce, is used for grain, and then for the price of grain, and of other articles of food. Render, *grain at the former price.*

1. Non tulerim. For the subjunctive in *tulerim*, H. 527 ; and in *feram*, 61
H. 486, II. Livy seems to follow a version of the story which represents Marcius as old enough at the overthrow of the regal government to take an active part in opposition to Tarquin ; or, if we do not take this view of the word *tulerim*, Marcius may be understood as speaking in the name of the patrician order.

4. Tertio anno ; sc. *abhinc*, three years ago. *Fruantur* is said in derision, as if the famine were something they had desired, and were now enjoying ; and the clause *quam—fecere* is added, to represent the commons as having brought about the famine through their seditious movement of secession, by which the fields were left untilled and unsown.

7. Haud tam facile. *Faciendumne fuerit* = *utrum fieri debuerit* ; whether the thing ought to have been done, it is not so easy to say. *Quam* corresponds to *tam*, and limits *arbitror*, and *ut—demerent* is the subjunctive of result after *potuisse fieri* ; *invis* agrees with *sibi*, and *sibi* limits *aemerent*. From *quam potuisse* the passage may be rendered : *but I think that it was possible for the patricians, on the condition of lowering the price of corn, to free themselves both from the tribunician power and from all those laws which had been imposed upon them against their will.*

PAGE XXXV. *Coriolanus is summoned to trial, and, before the*
61 *appointed day of trial, goes into exile.*

13. *Quæ*; for the relative agreeing with *alimenta*, H. 445, 4.

18. *Diem dixissent*. *Diem dicere* is the judicial expression for to appoint a day for trial. This was done always by a magistrate, who thereby expressed the purpose to bring an accusation against a citizen for an alleged offence, and to insist upon some penalty. The *accusatio* had to be made publicly, on three successive *nundinæ*, and then on the fourth the process was to begin. Meantime, the accused might escape the penalty by going into exile.

23. *Ut . . . pœna, etc.* *Pœna* is the abl. of means, and with *defungendum* some abl. like *periculo* is to be supplied; *that the fathers had to escape the peril by the punishment of one of their order.*

24. *Adversa*; abl. abs. with *invidia*, and the two words may be translated, *in spite of the odium.*

26. *Dispositis clientibus*. It was a common device of the patricians to come to the place of assembly with their clients, and to intimidate the plebeians, and, by creating a disturbance, to stop the progress of public business.

29. *Diceret*. For the subjunctive, H. 486, 4.

62 5. *Multis . . . bellis*; i. e., *bellis sæpe gestis*.

XXXVI. *The vision of the plebeian Titus Latinius touching the desecration of the ludi Romani.*

9. *Ludi forte, etc.* The establishment of these games, as narrated above, I., c. 35. *Ex instauratione*; literally, out of, as the preparations are thought of as growing out of, the repetition of the games. Translate: *it happened that preparations were making for a repetition of the great games.*

10. *Ludis*; abl. of time; H. 426, 1.

12. *Furca*; see n. on this word, I., c. 26.

13. *Ad religionem*. These games were in honor of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; and if any oversight or any thing wrong occurred in their observance, it was necessary, on religious grounds, to have them repeated.

15. *Præsultatorem*. The *præsultator* (or *præsul*, the word used by Cicero) was applied to the chief of the *Salii*, and then to the leader of the procession of the games; here it is used, by irony, for the slave who had been flogged through the circus.

20. *Magno*; with *stetit*, the abl. of price; literally, stood him in a great price; *cost him dear.*

22. *Animi*; 'limits *ægram*, according to H. 399, 3, 4).

23. *Satin'*; compounded of *satis* and the enclitic *ne*.

35. *Membris*; abl. of specification.

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XXXVII. *Through the wily advice of Tullius, the Volscians are directed to quit Rome.*

6. *Quod sequius sit.* *Sequius* is another form for *secius*, the comparative of *secus*; used here adjectively, and = *minus laudi*; *I am unwilling to say any thing to the discredit of my countrymen.*

8. *Nimio plus*; for the abl., H. 418; translate, *far more.*

11. *Simus*; for subjunctive, H. 519.

22. *Urbem*; the acc. is used (instead of the abl.), by a construction common with all verbs compounded with *e* or *ex*.

XXXVIII. *The Volscians are incited by Tullius to make war against the Romans.*

29. *Ad caput Ferentinum.* In I. 50 occurs the expression, *ad caput aquæ Ferentinæ*, which explains the words used here. Ferentinum was a town in Latium, S. E. of Rome. Here was the place of public assemblies of the Latins.—*Ut—eveniret*; for subjunctive, H. 486, 5.

31. *Secunda iræ*; *iræ* in the dative; *that favored their resentment.*

34. *Ut omnia*; *ut* in the sense of *although*; and *injurias* and *clades* in the same construction as *omnia*.

7. *Violaturi simus*; for subjunctive, H. 520, II.

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XXXIX. *Coriolanus marches against Rome with a Volscian army.—The Romans send repeated but unavailing embassies to dissuade him from hostile acts against his native land.*

21. *Circæis*; see n. I. 56, and Geogr. Index.

24. *Transversis tramitibus*; i. e., he did not proceed directly towards Rome, but *by cross-roads* from the Appian to the Latin Way. But the towns first mentioned, Satricum, Longula, Polusca, Corioli, and Bovillæ, all lie to the west of the Appian Way, in the Volscian territory, and Lavinium still farther west, toward the sea. It is a conjecture of Niebuhr, that the passage should read thus, after *Volscis tradidit*: inde Satricum—Lavinium recipit, tum deinceps in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus, Corbionem, Vitelliam, etc.

26. *Corbionem*, etc. These towns lie to the east of the Latin Way: Corbio on the north side of Mt. Algidus; Vitellia farther east, in the ter-

PAGE ritory of the Æqui; Labici still farther east, on the Labican Way, and
64 Pedum on the Prænestine road, between Tibur and Præneste. The position of Trebium is unknown.

65 6. *Referre, etc.*; to propose the sending of ambassadors; *referre ad senatum* is the regular expression for any measure proposed to the senate by the consul; and the proposition is hence called, as in the next sentence, *relatio*.

15. *Insignibus velatos*; the insignia are probably the *infule*, white woollen bands, with which the priests covered their heads.

XL. *The mother and wife of Coriolanus finally influence him by their entreaties and tears, and he withdraws the army from before Rome.*

18. *Veturiam*. Plutarch calls the mother of Coriolanus Volumnia, and his wife Virgilia; these names are adopted by Shakespeare in his play, and also by Dr. Arnold in his history.

23. *Pessent*; for the subjunctive, H. 520, II., and also 527.

28. *Esset*; for the subjunctive, H. 519.

33. *Ab sede*; to be joined with *consternatus*, which carries with it the force of a word like *prosilens*; *when Coriolanus, leaping in consternation from his seat, almost as one distracted, was about to embrace his mother, as she was coming.*

35. *Sciam*; the subjunctive depends upon *sine*, with *ut* omitted; H. 493, 2.

66 3. *Inredienti*; she supposes, in the genuine spirit of patriotism, that, though he might have cherished hostile feelings to his country while on the march, yet that, when he first actually invaded the Roman soil, these feelings must have at once ceased.

8. *Nihil jam, etc.* Livy seems to use *nihil—nec* as equivalent to *nihil—non*; *but I can now suffer nothing that will not be more disagreeable to you than wretched for myself.*

9. *Nec, ut sum, etc.*; she has the consolation, derived from her age, that her wretchedness cannot long endure. The reading *sum* is better than *sim*, as she means to say, that she is not long to continue in her present wretchedness.

10. *Videris*; the future perfect; see n. on *videritis*, I. 56, and H. 473, 1.

15. *Invidia... leto*. Both Plutarch and Dionysius relate that he was put to death by the Volscians.

20. *Inviderunt laude*. *Invidere* is generally used intransitively with the dative, as here *muliebribus*; and sometimes an acc. is added; but here the abl. takes the place of the acc., the verb being used in the sense

of *privare*. Zumpt, § 413, gives instances of this construction from PAGE Quintilian, the younger Pliny, and Tacitus, and adds one instance from 66 Horace of the genitive instead of this ablative or of the accusative. See also Madvig, § 261, *b*.

21. Monumento; dative of the end.

The remark of Dr. Arnold may be given here, from his history of Rome, Vol. I., p. 125: "The story must be referred to a period much later than the year 263, the date assigned to it in the common annals; and the circumstances are so disguised that is impossible to guess from what reality they have been corrupted."

BOOK THIRD.

THE chapters of the Third Book embraced in the present edition, contain the tragical story of Virginia. Macaulay, in his lay of Virginia, has admirably used the poetic features of this story, and has furnished a graphic, living picture of the social and political life of this period of Roman history. The name of Appius Claudius the decemvir was scarcely less detestable than that of Sextus Tarquinius. He had inherited all the haughty pride of his ancestors, and all their inflexible spirit of opposition to the interests of the Roman commons. The character and bearing of himself and his race are described, with surpassing force and truth, in the opening lines of Macaulay's poem.

At the opening of the story, the second year of the decemvirate had already passed by; but Appius and his associates still retained their office, and ruled with a tyrannic sway. Their government had been marked with all the abuse and license of the worst of the ancient aristocracies, and the people were constantly on the eve of resistance and revolution. This last act of tyranny attempted by Appius was a "signal for a general explosion. Camp and city rose at once; the Ten were pulled down; the Tribuneship was reëstablished; and Appius escaped the hands of the executioner only by a voluntary death." Cf. Arn. Hist. I, ch. xv.; Liddell's Hist. ch. x.

XLIV-XLVII. *Claudius, the client of Appius Claudius, claims Virginia as his slave, and asserts his claim before the tribunal of Appius.*

1. Aliud...nefas. In the preceding chapter, Livy had narrated the 67 story of the wanton murder of the heroic Siccius by the decemvirs.

PAGE 7. **Honestum...ducebat.** *Ordo* = *centuria*, a company. *Ducere ordinem*, to command a company, i. e., to be a captain. But there was a difference in the rank of the companies, and of their captains. Render, held a high rank as a captain in the army on the *Algidus*. The Romans were now at war with the Sabines and the *Æquians*. One army was sent against the Sabines at *Eretum*, and another to Mt. *Algidus*. In c. 42, *Livy* mentions the defeat of both these armies, and the retreat of the former to *Fidenæ*, and of the latter to *Tusculum*.

9. **Perinde uxor, etc.** *Perinde* = *prorsus eo modo*, exactly in the same manner, and refers to what has just been said of *Virginius*. His wife had been educated in the same manner as *Virginius*, and so were their children educated.

15. **Virginem in servitutem, etc.** *Asserere* or *vindicare aliquem in servitutem*, to claim one as a slave;—*in libertatem*, to claim as free. *Vindicatio* means an interim decision, to determine to whose possession the person or thing in question should be adjudged, pending the trial. When, as in this instance, it was to be decided whether a person were free or a slave, the *vindicatio* must, by the laws of the Twelve Tables, be granted *secundum libertatem*, as it was termed, or in favor of liberty. Hence *Appius* here instructs his client not to accede to the legal demand for such a decision.

24. **Celebrabatur**; literally, was frequently uttered; was on everybody's lips. *Notos, etc.*, regard for them wins to the girl their acquaintances, the baseness of the proceeding, the crowd.

68 2. **Auctoribus...sequeretur.** *Adesse*, to be present; hence, to stand by, to take one's part. *Auctoribus* is in abl. abs. with the antecedent of *qui*. While those who took her part advised her to follow.

4. **Notam...peragit.** *Petitor* is here the claimant. The expressions *fabula*, the farce, and *argumentum*, the plot, are borrowed from the stage.

6. **Suppositam ei esse.** *Suppositam*, from *sub* and *ponere*, to put in the place of, substitute, whence our word *supposititious*, as used of one child substituted for another; was falsely given to him as his own.

XLV. *Appius decrees to Claudius the interim possession of Virginia, but is met with remonstrance on the part of Icilius.*

16. **Decreto præfatus, etc.**; *decreto præfari*, to say something before a decree, by way of preface and defence; *Appius prefaced his decree* by saying, etc. *Prætendere*, literally, to stretch one thing before another by way of protection, i. e., to allege in excuse for, to pretend. Render the

clause: *which the friends of Virginius put forward as a pretence for their demand.* PAGE
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18. Ceterum ita...si...variet. On *ita—si*, see first note, I. 8. *But that there would be in that law a firm security for liberty, only on this condition, that it varied neither in causes nor in persons; i. e., that the law should without any variation be applied only to the causes and persons for which it was made.*

19. In his enim, etc. Appius sophistically professed to consider the case of Virginia as one without the province of the law in question. He contended that it applied only to those who were independent, and free *sui juris*. If such a person were claimed as a slave, the law allowed him, by an *interim* decision, to be considered free, till he was proved a slave, and required the claimant to be content with taking the offered security. But this maiden, he argued, was not in any case free; she belonged either to her master or to her father; and as her father was not present, her master had for the present an exclusive title to her. The word *his, these*, is meant to be referred to those who were thus independent, or free, in the sense of not being, as Virginia (*in ea*), under the *patria potestas*. *Id juris esse*, literally, that that belonged to law (*juris* is pred. gen.), *that that was legal*; the *id* referring to the provision of an interim decision, in such cases, in favor of freedom.

20. Decresce; sc. *Appium*, or *decemvirum*. In direct discourse the licitor would say, *decrevit*.

22. Ut tacitum feras, etc. *Ferre*, metaphorically as the English *carry*, as in the expression, *carry a point*. So *ferre tacitum ab aliquo*, i. e., *carry a thing without one's speaking of it*, when one submits without a word of opposition. This occurs in I. 50. *Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse* (sc. *Tarquinius*) *tacitum ferunt*.—Compare Terence. *Andr.* 3, 5, 4, *sed inultum numquam id auferet*.

23. Virginem...nuptamque pudicam habiturus, *I intend to marry this maiden, and will have in her a chaste bride.* This reading is from Alschefski, instead of *nuptam pudicamque*.

9. Virginius viderit. See note on *videritis*, I. 58.

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XLVI. *Appius puts off the execution of the decree to the arrival of Virginius, and allows Virginia to remain meantime at her own home, on condition of security being given for her appearance on the next day.*

22. Vindicarique puellam, etc. *Vindicari*, i. e., in *libertatem*, to be claimed as a free person. Appius says that he will request Claudius to waive his own right, to accept of sureties for the girl's appearance, and to allow for the present her claim to freedom.

PAGE 31. **In eo verti...si, etc.** Literally, that the safety of the girl *turned* upon *that circumstance*, namely, *if* he should be ready, etc. Render, *that the safety of the girl depended upon his being present in time on the next day, to defend her from injury.* *Injurie*, objective gen. = *contra injuriam*.

34. **Ut vindicaret sponsoreque daret; sc. Icilius.** Claudius now urges Icilius to proceed in accordance with the above words of Appius, *vindicarique puellam*, etc., i. e., to claim the girl's liberty, and give securities for her appearance on the morrow.

36. **Dum præciperent, etc.** *Dum* has here nearly the same force as *ut*. "That the messengers might gain time," etc.—Hand, Turs. 2, p. 819; H. 521.

70 13. **Virginus sordidatus filiam secum...deducit.** *Secum* is the reading of the best MSS., and must be referred, not so much to *deducit* as to *sordidatus* and *obsoleta veste*. "Virginus in mourning attire brought down his daughter to the forum, dressed as *he was* in mourning."—Alschefski. "In the same manner as in times of distress and mourning, whether for public or domestic calamities, the sufferers testified their affliction by sedulous neglect of their personal appearance; so they, over whom the danger of a heavy accusation was impending, appeared in *sorry apparel*, with disordered hair, and divested of all insignia and ornaments, *sordidati*."—Becker's Gallus, p. 115, note.

16. **Non erare solum...petere;** "not only begged their aid as a favor, but also demanded it as a due."

21. **Hæc prepe concionabundus.** The adjectives in *bundus* govern the acc. like participles. *Uttering these things almost in the same manner as if he were addressing an assembly.*

26. **Utro;** may here be rendered *even*; it was of course only a feint, that Claudius complains of the decemvir's having proceeded from a desire for popular favor.

29. **Quem decreto...tradiderint, etc.** *Forsan* (*fors-an*) means *it may be that, perhaps*. The sentence expresses the conjecture on the part of Livy, that the *real sermo, verum sermonem*, was recorded by some ancient author. Literally, thus: It may be, that ancient authors recorded some real discourse, which Appius prefixed to his decree. Render: *It may be that some ancient author recorded the pretence actually alleged by Appius for this decree.* The sense of the whole passage is thus given by Hand (Tursell. 2, p. 718): *facile credo auctores antiquos etiam verum sermonem tradidisse, sed in iis, qui nunc exstant, auctoribus, non invenio sermonem, qui cum tanta fœditate decreti conveniat.* *Ullum—veri similem*; literally, any one like a true one; i. e., *any probable one for such a profligate decree.*

XLVIII. *Appius orders the delivery of Virginia to Claudius ; upon which Virginius, drawing his daughter aside, under the pretence of speaking with her, snatches a knife from a butcher's stall, and stabs her to the heart.* PAGE 71

9. *Alienatus . . . animo.* *Animo* limits *alienatus* as abl. of specification. *Ad* has the force of *pro, for*, as in I. 7, *ad desiderium* ; so Hand, in Tursell. I. p. 112. Or with *ad* in its common meaning of *to*, estranged in mind (from what is natural and right) *to* lust. It may be translated : *quite beside himself for lust.*

18. *Mancipium* ; the word for a slave considered as property, and so subject to purchase and sale ; from *manu* and *capio*, because, in selling, the property was literally taken with the hand, as we also say of property, that it changes hands, or passes from one man's hands to another's.

26. *Cloacinae* ; sc. *ædem*. *Cloacina* from *cluere* = *purgare*, to purify. The story was, that the Romans and Sabines, when reconciled, after the rape of the Sabine women, were purified by the myrtle, which was sacred to Venus ; so Pliny, 15, 29.

27. *Novis* ; dat. of appositive, by attraction to *quibus*. The *Novæ Tabernæ* were on the northern side of the Forum, called *Novæ*, in distinction from older ones, called *Sub Veteribus*, which were on the southern side of the Forum. Becker's *Rom. Antiqq.*, p. 296.

28. *Hoc . . . modo* ; *in this way, the only one in my power.*

30. *Te . . . consecro* ; *on thee and on thy head, Appius, be the curse of this blood.*—Arnold.

32. *Ille ferro . . . perrexit.* *He forced his way with the knife, wherever he went, until, protected also by a multitude who followed him, he reached the gate.*

“ And as Virginius through the press his way in silence cleft,
Ever the mighty multitude fell back to right and left.
And he hath passed in safety unto his woful home,
And there ta'en horse to tell the camp what deeds are done in Rome.”

MACAULAY.

1. *Esse* ; the infinitive, according to H. 530, II. 2.

2. *Quo . . . subjiicit.* Comp. the passage in I. 59, *quæ—subjiicit.* *Quo—mæstior* and *eo—magis* are correlative ; *suggests to them in their mourning, the more pitiable, in proportion as it is deeper felt in their tender heart.*

4. *Tota . . . potestatis . . . erat* ; *had exclusive reference to the withdrawal of the power of the tribunes and the right of appeal to the people. Potestatis* is predicate genitive.

XLIX. *A tumult is raised in the forum, and Appius is driven out.—Appius orders a meeting of the senate.*

14. *Vindicare se a privato.* *Privato* refers to Appius. Horatius and Valerius contended, that, as the year of the decemvirate had expired,

PAGE and there had been no new appointment, Appius and his associates were
72 simply private citizens, and no more authorized than themselves to exercise the privileges of the magistracy. In preceding chapters, 39, 40, 41, Livy has done full justice to the spirit and resolution with which they maintained this view in the senate, and in the presence of the decemvirs.

20. Pro imperio, etc. Hand (Turs. 3, 587) makes *pro imperio* equivalent to *secundum imperium*, or *nomine imperii*, in an authoritative manner. For a *privato* see note above. Valerius claims as much authority as Appius, and orders the lictors to leave Appius, as he was only a private citizen.

25. Agitatus deinde consiliis... atque, etc. The reading and punctuation of Alschefski, the former in accordance with all the MSS. Alschefski considers the clause *atque—trepidaverat* explanatory of *agitatus—consiliis*, *atque* meaning *and indeed, in truth*.

L. *The uprising in the camp on Mt. Vecilius.—The army occupy the Aventine.*

33. In Monte Vecilio. See second note on this book, c. 44. The Vecilius was probably near Tusculum. Niebuhr thinks it is the modern Monte Cavo.

35. Nam, præterquam... convertit. The clause *strictum—convertit*, connected by *etiam*, is additional to *præterquam quod—conspectus est*. In addition to the fact that he attracted attention, i. e., besides attracting attention by coming with a band, etc., his drawn sword also, etc.

73 14. Nec se... futurum fuisse; nor would he have survived his daughter. In direct speech it would be *nec fuisset*. See note on *et futurum fuisse*, I. 46.

21. Victura fuerit. See n. on *facturus fuerit*, II. 1.

25. Consulere; for the subjunctive, H. 530, II. In the *oratio recta* it would be *consulite*.

26. Et immixti... insecutisque, etc. *Quum—simul = quum—tum, et—et, partly—partly*. I give *insécutisque*, the conjecture of Alschefski, as on the whole the best reading. He considers *insecutisque—dicerent* explanatory of the preceding clause, and persons having arrived who said, etc.; their later intelligence thus confirming the previous announcement, that the decemviral power was already in a desperate condition. But this conjecture does not relieve the passage of its difficulty. It remains so involved, and singular in construction, that we must be content with considering the text corrupt.

36. Inhiberet. *Inhibere* is used by Livy in the sense of *exercere*.

LI. *The army on the Aventine elect ten military tribunes ; and the army on the Sabine territory also elect the same number of tribunes, and then march to the Aventine, to join their comrades.* PAGE 74

27. *In Sabinis.* See note on *honestum ordinem*, etc., II. 44.

29. *Sicci cædis.* The fate of Siccius is recorded by Livy in a previous chapter. He was a veteran soldier in the army sent against the Sabines, and tradition ascribed to him prodigious exploits and honors. As he was understood to be disaffected and inclined to promote a secession, the generals determined on his death. According to Livy's account, he was sent out, "with a band of assassins, to view the country, and choose a place for a camp. In a lone spot his companions fell on him, when he suspected no danger: he died, but not unavenged, amid a heap of traitors whom he slew."—Niebuhr, 2, p. 347.

32. *Ne...prærogativam...sequerentur.* I give *prærogativam*, the common reading, and certainly the usual expression, in preference to *prærogativa*, the reading of Alschefski. *Prærogativa*, sc. *centuria*, means primarily the *century that voted first*—so too with *tribus* in the same sense. At the comitia, it was decided by lot which century should vote first; and as the Romans regarded the result of the lot as an intimation of the divine will, the following centuries ordinarily voted in the same way as the *centuria prærogativa*. To this fact Cicero alludes in the *Orat. pro Muræna*, c. 18, *tanta illis comitiis religio est, ut adhuc semper omen valuerit prærogativum*. Hence, by a natural transition, the expression *prærogativa* came to mean *vote, choice*, whence too our word *prerogative*.

10. *Quo anno...abissent.* *Quo* refers to *magistratus*, and depends upon *abissent*. *Abire magistratu*, *go out of office*, substantially the same as the preceding expression, *deponere insignia magistratus*. In this connection it may be rendered, *which had expired the year before*. 75

11. *In ordinem cogi.* *In ordinem cogere* is a military expression, used of an officer, when deprived of his command, as, in English, to reduce to the ranks, *to degrade*.

LII. *The second secession to the Sacred Hill.*

19. *Seiturosqe, quam, etc.* Alschefski adopts this reading, the conjecture of Rhenanus: *and that they would know how impossible it would be for affairs to be restored to harmony without the restoration of the tribunician power.*

21. *Fiulensi*; by attraction appositive to *cui*, instead of being appositive to *nomen*.

PAGE 22. *Patrum suorum, etc.* In reference to the first secession. See
75 note on *secessione*, II. 34.

37. *Ubi...moveatur.* *Parum*, too little, scarcely any thing. When
(i. e., so soon as) scarcely any thing is effected by the secession.

76 3. *Nos...plebeiis*; we would sooner be without patrician magistrates,
than they without plebeian.

6. *Ne...ferant desiderium.* *Ne* = *nedum*, not to mention that, much
less. *Hand*, *Turs.* 4, p. 54; *H.* 493, 4.

7. *Quum præsertim...egeant*; especially as we do not restrain the exer-
cise of our authority, to prevent their needing protection. *Imperii* in dative,
limiting *temperemus*; and the subjunctive in *egeant*, according to *H.* 499,
the idea of hindering being implied.

LIII. *Valerius and Horatius persuade the citizens to return to the city.*

13. *Conditionibus quibus videretur*; on such conditions as should seem
proper to them. Compare note on *absolverent*, II. 8.

18. *Ob hæc...actæ.* For these things, thanks were rendered them on
their coming.

28. *Vivosque igni, etc.* On this demand *Dr. Arnold* remarks: "The
friends of the commons had met this fate within the memory of men still
living, and certainly not for greater crimes."—*Vol.* 1, p. 195. This re-
mark doubtless refers to his account in *vol.* 1, p. 154, of a story concern-
ing the burning of nine men as traitors. The subject is there discussed
in full, and the fact itself thus recorded: "We only know that at some
time or other during the latter half of the third century of Rome, nine
eminent men who advocated the cause of the commons were burned
alive in the circus." Compare *Niebuhr*, *vol.* 2, pp. 126, 7.

29. *Quæ...postulastis*; such of your demands as have come from de-
liberation, are so just. *Consilii* in predicate genitive.

33. *Quippe qui...ruitis.* The indicative (contrary to the usual prac-
tice), in order to represent the thing as a fact; see *H.* 519, 3.

LIV. *The decemvirs resign their office, and the citizens elect tribunes of the people.*

77 7. *Facerent*; for subjunctive, *H.* 493, 2.

13. *Hand ignaro*; sc. *mihi*; literally, hangs over me not ignorant;
that is, *I am aware of the doom that hangs over me.*

15. *Nihil ne ego quidem, etc.* Two negatives, which, however, do not
destroy each other. So also, *non—ne—quidem*. See *Z.* § 754, note;
and *H.* 585, 2.

16. *Abcam* ; for the subjunctive, see H. 499.

26. *Pro concione* ; “before the assembly.” The expression is equivalent to *palam* or *publice*. Hand, Turs. 4, p. 578.—*Quod bonum*, etc. See note on this expression, I. 17.

29. *Multitudini* ; depends upon *necessario*.

5. *Qui...insignem...gesserat* ; *who had administered the tribuneship with distinguished honor before the appointment of the decemvirs.* 78

10. *Plebem rogavit* ; = *ad plebem rogationem tulit*. See note on similar expression, I. 17.

13. *In pratis Flaminiiis*. These meadows were outside the Porta Carmentalis, at the foot of the Capitoline hill. See Plan of Rome. The election of tribunes took place on the Aventine. The words *ea omnia* refer only to the business transacted by the tribunes after their election. Comp. Niebuhr, vol. 2, p. 360, note 790 ; Arnold, vol. 1, p. 195.

LV. *Valerius and Horatius are elected consuls.—Laws passed in the interest of the commons.*

22. *Ut quod...teneret* ; “that what the commons had ordered in the assembly of the tribes should be binding upon the people.” We are forced to believe with Niebuhr and Arnold, that there was a restriction on the power of the plebs, which Livy does not here mention, namely, that the plebiscitum was subject to the sanction of the senate and of the curiæ. This Valerian law formally acknowledged the national character of the Comitia Tributa ; its decrees, where not directly interfered with by another power equally sovereign, were to embrace not the commons only, but the whole nation. See Niebuhr, vol. 2, pp. 364, 5 ; Arnold, vol. 2, p. 198.

35. *Ut, qui...venum iret* ; *that whoever had harmed the tribunes of the commons, the ædiles, the judges, the decemvirs, should be accursed ; and his property be confiscated to the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.* By the *Judices* Dr. Arnold understands the two supreme magistrates, called now for the first time *consuls*, their title up to this period having been *prætors*. The *decemviri* here mentioned, are, according to his opinion, the “ten tribunes of the soldiers, chosen five from the patricians, and five from the commons, to command the armies in war, and to watch over the rights of the patricians ; while the ten tribunes of the commons, also chosen from both orders, were to watch over the liberties of the commons.”—Hist. 2, p. 199.

1. *Hac juris lege interpretes, etc. Negant quemquam = affirmant* 79
haud quemquam ; the following infinitives, *sanciri, prehendi, duci, esse*, etc., depending upon *affirmant* alone. The opinion here ascribed to the lawyers was founded in the primary and strict meaning of *sacrosanctus*.

PAGE 79 Composed of *sacer* and *sanctus* from *sancio*, i. e., *sacer*—*sanctus*, the word means properly, *appointed, consecrated by religious ceremonies*. The lawyers held that this law did not make any magistrate *sacrosanctus*; that accordingly an ædile, though protected by this law, might still be arrested and thrown into prison by the *maiores magistratus*. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people, when that office was first established, were made *sacrosancti* by religious ceremonies, *vetere jurejurando plebis, quibusdam cæroniis*. For *maiores magistratus*, see Dict. Antiqq., *Magistratus*.

11. Judicem enim consulem appellari, etc. The opinion referred to in this passage, is quite the same as that mentioned above, in explanation of the word *judices*, namely, that the consul was called *judex*, and that this Horatian law therefore extended to the patrician magistrates, the consuls and the prætors. In reply to the objection urged here by Livy, "that, in these times, it was not yet customary to call the consul *judex* but *prætor*," Dr. Arnold thus remarks: "According to Zonaras, who derived his materials from Dion Cassius, the consuls *ceased* to be called prætors at this very time, and were now first called consuls."—Arnold, vol. 1, p. 200, note 9.

20. Tergo ac capite puniretur; should be scourged and beheaded. Both Niebuhr and Arnold favor the statement of Diodorus, that the punishment denounced by this law was death at the stake.

33. In defendendo. Virginius does not mean to preclude Appius from defending himself; but he means, as he says just below, that one manifestly guilty of such flagrant crimes ought at once to be imprisoned, and to remain in prison until his defence should be made in a trial before the people. Unless kept in custody, Appius might get away before the trial, and so escape justice.

LVI. *Virginius appoints a day for the trial of Appius.— The defence of Appius.*

34. Omnium...facio. *Omnium* limits *gratiam*, and *gratiam facio* means *I grant you pardon*.

36. Nisi judicem dices, etc. This is the reading of the MSS., and must be retained, notwithstanding the objection of Niebuhr, who proposed *doces*. Freund gives *judicem dicere*, to name a judge, as the legal expression used in reference to a defendant, in joining issue on an action brought against him. The corresponding expression used of the plaintiff is *judicem ferre*, which occurs below, in c. 56. Dr. Arnold says, that *nisi judicem dices* signifies, "unless thou wilt give me notice to come before a judge with thee, to have this issue tried." He adds, that, "in regard to the transaction itself, the judge would have had to try simply

the question of fact whether Appius had given vindiciæ or possession in favor of slavery or not." *Unius criminis limits in vincula te duci*, by a usage not uncommon in judicial expressions. The whole sentence may be thus rendered: *Only in regard to one charge, unless you prove before a judge, that you did not, contrary to the laws, give a sentence condemning a free person to slavery, I order you to be thrown into prison.* Comp. Arnold, vol. 1, p. 201; Niebuhr, vol. 2, pp. 370, 75.

3. Tribunos appellavit; i. e., to save him from being thrown into prison.—**Nullò morante;** *no one interposing*, i. e., no one of the tribunes heeding the *appellatio*. The appeal, called *appellatio*, was made to the tribunes; the *provocatio*, which Appius next makes, was made to the people.

26. Eodem fœdere; i. e., the same as they charged upon the decemvirs.

28. At sc. Alschefski adopts *at*, the conjecture of Gronovius, instead of the reading of the MSS., *ait. That he at least*, etc. See note on *at*, I. 41.

LVII. *The speech of Virginius against Appius.—Preparations for war against the Sabines, Æquans, and Volscians.—The laws of the Twelve Tables set up in public.*

1. Legum...esse; *had no claim to the laws, nor to civil or human society.*

16. Ni vindicias, etc. Ni = si non. *To decide whether he did not give sentence, etc.* *Ni* is frequently used in this sense in judicial forms. A parallel passage, Liv. 3, 24, *ni ita esset, multi—ferebant judicem*, in which passage, however, Alschefski reads *nisi*. Hand, Turs. 4, pp. 196, 197.

34. Urbem egrederentur. For acc., see note on *urbem excederent*, II. 37.

36. In publico. The tables were set up in the Comitium.

LVIII. *Caius Claudius pleads, but in vain, for Appius.—Before the day of the trial, Appius commits suicide.—Also the decemvir Oppius is put in prison, and there puts an end to his life; the other decemvirs are banished.*

2. Regillum, antiquam in patriam. The emigration of the Claudian gens from Regillus to Rome, is mentioned by Livy in II. 16.

6. Eam inustam maculam. *Inustam*, literally, to be burnt in; *such a stain to be branded.*

PAGE 8. **Virum honoratissimæ imaginis, etc. ;** i. e., virum, cujus imago futura esset posteris in maximo honore ; in allusion to the Roman custom of perpetuating the memory of illustrious ancestors, by placing their *imagines* in the atrium of the house. Only those had this privilege, who had borne a curule office. These *imagines* were ordinarily made of wax, "and were kept in little presses, placed up against the wall, and under them stood the name of the deceased, his honors, and merits, *tituli*."—Becker's Gallus, p. 20, note 7.

18. **Pietate ;** "affection for his family." *Pietas* is the feeling of *dutiful affection*, springing from some natural relation : towards the Deity, *piety* ; one's parents, *filial affection* ; one's country, *love of country, patriotism* ; one's relatives, family, *natural affection, love of family*.

24. **Appius mortem sibi concevit.** Dr. Arnold refers to the account of Dionysius, that Appius was put to death in prison by order of the tribunes ; and adds, "It is not improbable that the tribunes dealt with Appius, as Cicero treated the accomplices of Catiline in the very same prison. Cicero's conduct on that occasion was sanctioned by Cato, and by the majority of the senate ; and certainly the crimes of Appius were neither less flagrant, nor less notorious, than those of Cethegus or Lentulus."—Hist. of Rome, vol. 1, p. 202.

83 2. **Manesque Virginæ...quieverunt ;** and the shade of Virginia, more fortunate after her death than in her life, having wandered through so many families in search of vengeance, at length, when no guilty one was left unpunished, rested in peace.

Thus Livy closes this sad tale, with a poetic expression of an idea, borrowed from the ancient mythology, and frequently mentioned and illustrated in the classic writers. The troubled spirit of the injured Virginia found no rest from her wanderings, till a deserved punishment had fallen upon all who had wronged her. So Plato taught that the spirits of the murdered followed with their vengeance their murderers, and ceased not to disturb and terrify them. The Greek Drama, in the case of Clytemnestra, and in many other subjects of tragedy, is full of illustrations of the same idea.

LIX. *The fears of the patricians are removed by the assurances of the tribune Duellius.*

12. **Nihil...spendet ;** is a sufficient security, that nothing will be done to require the aid of the tribunes.

16. **Quod...fuissent ;** because they had been so entirely devoted to the interests of the commons. *Plebis* is predicate genitive. *Fuissent* is in the subjunctive by H. 520, II.

19. *Cepisset*; connected by *et* to *fuissent*, and in the subjunctive by PAGE
the same rule. 83

21. *Qui... auctores fuissent*. With *consultum*, sc. *esse*, we must supply *a patribus*; literally, that it had been consulted too mildly, *that the senate had proceeded with too much indulgence*. *Iis* refers to *consules*, and the clause *quod—fuissent* explains the words *mollius consultum*; *in that they had approved the laws proposed by them*.

22. *Neque erat dubium, etc.* This clause, like the preceding one, is said in accordance with the opinion of the senators referred to, *multi*. They had no doubt that nothing but the necessities of the time had compelled the senate to pass the laws proposed by the consuls. Alschevski thinks that the idea is implied, that so soon as the times should change, the senate would regain what it had lost, and reassert the rights of the patricians.

BOOK FOURTH.

THE chapters selected from this book refer to two important plebeian laws: first, the law of Canuleius, to repeal the law of the twelve tables, which forbade intermarriages (*connubia*) between the patricians and the plebeians, and to make such intermarriages legitimate; second, the law proposed by the other nine tribunes, "that the consulship should be thrown open, without distinction, to the members of both orders." To the Canuleian law, the patricians, after making a vigorous opposition, were at length compelled to give their consent, and the law was passed. The passage of the second law they evaded by resorting to the device of appointing military tribunes, with consular power, who might be either plebeians or patricians. Compare Arn. Hist. Rome, vol. I., ch. xvi.; Schmitz's Hist. Rome (Andover ed.), p. 93; Liddell's Hist., c. xii.

I.—3. *Connubio*. Connubium is a term comprehending all the condi- 84
tions of a legal Roman marriage. See Dict. Antiqq. (Marriage.) Before the passage of the Canuleian law, marriages were frequently contracted between the patricians and the plebeians; but as there could be no regular marriage (*justum matrimonium*) without connubium, such connections were liable to many legal restrictions; the children were not subject to the father's power, and could not inherit his property if he died intestate.

4. *Rogationem promulgavit*. See note, I. 17; and Dict. Antiqq., p. 580.

PAGE 5. *Jura gentium*; i. e., of the Roman *Gentes*, or Houses; for an ac-
84 count of which see Dict. Antiqq., p. 470.

17. *In majus...acceptis*; *being exaggerated*; i. e., *ita acceptis*, ut *majora viderentur*, quam essent. So, *in majus ferre*, XXI. 32, *incerta in majus—ferri solent*.

25. *Ad concionem advocavit*; sc. *plebem*.

II.—11. *Ut, quemadmodum, etc.* This reading is adopted as sufficiently warranted by MS. authority, and as more according to Latin usage than the reading in the former edition. The idea by both readings is substantially the same, that the patricians should have at least the dignity of their order, and be able to boast, even as the plebeians,
85 that it had been increased.

16. *Perturbationem...afferre*. The patricians claimed the sole and exclusive right of taking the auspices; see below, in c. 6, p. 90, *quod nemo plebeius auspicia haberet*.

22. *Sacrorum*; predicate genitive. In such marriages the plebeians were denied access to certain patrician sacred observances.

36. *Subituros fuisse*. See n. on *et se*, etc., I. 46.

86 5. *Illine ut, etc.*; sc. *feri posse*, or *concedi posse*. Such an ellipsis frequently occurs, in questions expressing indignation; and sometimes even without any interrogative particle.

7. *Quum...sed audeat, etc.* *Tantum non*, almost, in which sense it frequently occurs, not only in Livy, but in other writers. Z. § 729; and *when they have almost sent for the enemy, not allow armies to be enrolled against the enemy, but Canuleius dares, etc.*

III.—22. *Viveretis*. The subjunctive with *qui*, in dependence upon *indigni*, H. 501, III.

25. *Quibus, etc.*; *quibus* refers to *rogationes*, and is abl. of means; *quid aliud* the object of some verb understood, as *agimus*; *by which what else* are we doing *but remind* them, etc.; or it may be joined with *admoneamus*; *what else but this do we remind them of, etc.*

32. *Quid tandem est, etc.?* *Tandem* gives an expression of impatience to the question = *I pray you*. *Why is it, I pray you, that they are disturbing heaven and earth, etc.?*

87 2. *Perinde hoc valet...dicat?* *Perinde tamquam*, just as if, exactly as if. *Plebeiusne consul fiat*; Alschevski reads, *plebeius ne*, etc., translating *ne*, that not. But the interrogative form of the clause seems best to agree with what follows: *And does this question, whether a plebeian can be made consul, mean just the same as if some one said that a slave or the son of a slave was to be consul?*

13. *En unquam creditis fando auditum esse*; sc. *a nobis*, *Do you believe that we have ever heard?* *Fando audire*; literally, to hear by saying, i. e., *hearsay*, or to know by hearsay.

16. *Tarquinium, non modo...sed ne...quidem.* See note on this PAGE construction, I. 40.

IV.—2. *Quid postea ? = quid inde consequitur ?* What then ?

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12. *Decemviros legibus scribendis ;* for the dat., H. 564, 3.

17. *Pessimo exemplo publico.* Alschefschi gives this reading on the authority of three of the best MSS., in preference to the reading proposed by Gronovius, *pessimo publico*. *Pessimo publico* certainly occurs in Livy (see II. 1, and the note) ; but it seems here to be the meaning of Livy, that the law of the decemvirs furnished a *precedent* of the *greatest injury* to the *public interests*, inasmuch as there were not wanting persons who were in favor of some such restrictions upon the plebeians at the present time.

22. *Ne affinitatibus...caveant, etc.* *Caveant*, not *cavent*, is the reading of the best MSS. ; and, as Alschefschi has clearly shown, is required by the connection. The sentence is connected in thought with the sentence below, *verum enimvero, etc.* *Let them see to it* (or, they may see to it), *that we are not united to them by marriage and relationship, that our blood is not mingled with theirs.* How ? *If that is a stain upon that nobility of yours*, which very many of you, who are descended from the Albans and the Sabines, have, not by race nor by blood, but by election, etc., *could you not preserve its purity by private regulations ?* etc. ; *but, verily, that this should be prohibited by law—that, indeed, is insulting to the commons.*—*Propinquitas* is *relationship*, in general ; *affinitas*, *relation by marriage*. *Cognatio* means *relation by blood*.—D.

3. *Cur non sancitis, etc. ?* This indignant expostulation of the plebeians may be compared with the plea of Shylock for the Jews in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, Act 3, Sc. 1 : "Hath not a Jew eyes ? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions ? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is ? If you prick us, do we not bleed ? if you tickle us, do we not laugh ? if you poison us, do we not die ? "

V.—20. *Si non...essetis ?* *If you had not twice tried, etc.* *Bis*, in reference to the two instances of the secession of the commons.

22. *An ideo, etc.* *Or, was it on that account that there was no contest made, because the stronger party was also the more moderate ?*

29. *Necessitudinibus.* *Necessitudo*, in distinction from the words noticed above, c. 4, has a wider signification, and means a connection, either official, as that of *patronus*, *collega*, or private, as that of *amicus*.—D.

VI.—1. *In concionem ;* i. e., from the senate, where the speeches had been delivered, *to the assembly* of the people in the forum.

90

5. *Respondit.* The word refers back to *consules*, but probably *alter consulum* is to be supplied as the subject, or (as Madvig conjectures) a proper name is here lost from the text.

PAGE 12. *Ut de connubio ferretur, concessere*; gave their consent to the passage of the law concerning the connubium.

90 37. *Cessisse possessione*. *Cedere* in the sense of yield, give up, is generally joined with the acc. of the thing given up, but sometimes, as here, with the abl.

BOOK FIFTH.

THE chapters selected from this Book contain Livy's account of the battle of the Alia, and of the invasion of Rome by the Gauls. The whole narrative admirably illustrates the historical style of Livy, and especially that graphic power of description for which he is unrivalled among the ancient historians. It is indeed a series of historical pictures, from the hand of an ancient master, which bring directly before our eyes all the scenes belonging to this period of Roman history. The historian Niebuhr, while he rejects some of the details in Livy's account of these events, and prefers to follow other writers, yet accords the highest praise to this well-known and masterly narrative, and confesses that criticism cannot impair the imperishable fame of its author. "In his own peculiar excellences (I quote his own words), in that richness and warmth of coloring, which many centuries after were the characteristics of the Venetian painters born under the same sky, Livy never shone more brilliantly than in this description: a more vivid one is not to be found in any Latin or Greek historian."—Hist. Rome, vol. II., p. 544.

XXXV. *The arrival of the Gauls in Clusium, the embassy of the people of Clusium to Rome, and of the Romans to the Gauls.*

92 9. *Adversus Romanos*. *Adversus* means primarily turned towards, and hence, as a preposition, means in a hostile sense, against, like *contra*, or in a friendly, towards, like *erga*. It here means in respect to. Hand, Turs. 1, p. 187.

XXXVI. *The Roman ambassadors take part in the battle of the Clusinians with the Gauls; whereupon the Gauls send an embassy to Rome, to demand that the ambassadors be given up to them, on account of their violation of the law of nations.*

93 7. *Quodnam, etc.* The order of translation thus: *Quum, Romanis quarentibus, quodnam—arma, et quid—esset, illi—dicerent, etc.*

27. *Ne id.* *obstabat*. *Ne* with *obstare*, in the sense of *quominus*, PAGE
kept them from decreeing. *Ambitio*, love of favor, has here particular ref- 93
 erence to the Fabii and their friends.

29. *Cladis. . . acceptæ*. *Acceptæ* is equivalent to *si accepta esset*.

XXXVII. *The Gauls, indignant at the failure of their embassy, set out on their hostile march to Rome, and reach the river Alia.*

3. *Quæ. . . dixisset*. For subj. see note on *absolverent*, II. 8. 94

12. *Utro ; even ; i. e.*, that they were not only not punished, but even honored.

15. *Ad. . . tumultum ; at their tumultuous movement, as they rapidly passed by.*

22. *Quippe quibus. . . occursum est*. *Quibus* refers to *hostium*. For the indic. with *quippe quibus*, see note on *quippe qui ruitis*, III. 53. Dr. Arnold, following the account of Diodorus, states that the Romans first crossed the Tiber, expecting to meet the Gauls on the right bank of the river ; but, on learning that the Gauls were advancing on the left bank, they were obliged to recross the river, "and without an instant's delay march out by the Salarian road, in order to encounter the enemy at as great a distance from the city as possible." Hist. Rome, vol. II., p. 323. In this manner Dr. Arnold accounts for the suddenness with which the battle of the Alia took place. Ib. p. 322, note 27.

23. *Ad undecimum lapidem*. The milestones of the Roman roads were called *milliaria*, from *mille passus* ; also, as here, *lapides*. Thus *ad undecimum lapidem* means *eleven miles from Rome*. The Via Salaria, the road here referred to, commenced at the Porta Collina. See Dict. Antiqq., *Milliarium*.

24. *Flumen Alia*. "It is well known that to identify the famous Alia with any existing stream is one of the hardest problems of Roman topography. Virgil and Livy agree in placing it on the left bank of the Tiber. Westphal says, 'that something less than eleven miles from Rome there is a small brook with high banks,' and that on the right of the road at this spot you see the village of Marcigliana Vecchia." Arnold's Hist. Rome, vol. II., p. 323, n. 32. Marcigliana Vecchia is supposed to be the site of the ancient Crustumerium. The mention of the Alia in Virgil occurs in *Æn.* 7, 717

XXXVIII. *The defeat of the Romans in the battle of the Alia.*

31. *Litato ;* like *auspicato*, originally an abl. absolute, but here used adverbially. As *auspicato* here precedes, *litato* seems to be used by Livy

PAGE 94 in the simple sense of the offering of sacrifices ; but the verb *litare* properly means to offer sacrifices under favorable auspices. Aulus Gellius mentions that a sacrifice was offered by the consul, but that it was on the day after the Ides, which was an unlucky day, and so the sacrifice was not acceptable to the gods.

33. Nec tamen, etc. *Tamen* refers back to *deductam*. They had drawn out the line to avoid being outflanked (*ne circumveniri*, etc.), and now Livy says, *and yet the fronts could not be made equal* (i. e., the Roman front equal to the Gallic), *though by thinning out they made the centre weak and hardly holding together*.

95 **6. Tantum superanti multitudini.** The Gauls were seventy thousand in number, the Romans forty thousand. See Arnold, vol. I., p. 322 ; Niebuhr, vol. II., p. 538.

13. In reliqua acie, etc. The right of the Romans, consisting of the *subsidiarii*, was posted on hilly ground ; the left, consisting of the regular legions, on the plain between the hills and the Tiber, the extreme flank resting on the river. But, on account of the course of the river, the left was thrown back behind the right ; hence, when the troops on the right were chased from their ground by the Gauls, the shout was heard by the *proximi*, the part of the Roman line nearest the *subsidiarii*, on their side, *ab latere* ; by the *ultimi*, those on the left, *ab tergo*, on their rear. Hence, too, as mentioned in the next sentence, the fugitives in their flight disordered the ranks of the legions, and the whole army was thus routed. See Arnold, vol. I., 324.

23. Non modo, etc. See first note on I. 40.

XXXIX. *The Gauls reach Rome, and the measures taken by the Romans in their desperate condition.*

96 **4. Romani, etc.** By a bold figure, the historian represents the dead as well as the living (that is, the absent, who were supposed to be dead) as filling the whole city with lamentations, because they were the occasion of the general mourning. *Crederent* in the plural with *nemo*, as the plural *Romani* has just been used.

13. Primo adventu, etc. I give the common reading, *adventu quo*, instead of that of Alschevski, *adventus quia*. The punctuation is also somewhat changed, and is given chiefly according to Buttner (Observ. Liv., p. 35). *Idemdem* is explained in the successive clauses, and by the particles *deinde—tum—postremo*. It is not easy to perceive the force of the clause *quia—supererat*, as a reason for the opinion that the attack would be made *before night, ante noctem*. Hence Alschevski suggests either *quamquam* instead of *quia*, or a transposition of the clause *quia—supererat*, so that the sentence should read, *deinde sub*

occasum solis, ante noctem rati se invasuros; tum quia—supererat, in PAGE
noctem, etc. 96

19. Continens fait; i. e., *nullo intervallo secutum, immediately followed.*

20. Ea nocte, neque insequenti die. The battle was fought on the 16th of July. As the Gauls did not enter the city till the morning of the 18th, the Romans had the night of the 16th, and the whole day of the 17th, in which to make such defensive arrangements as their circumstances allowed.

26. Ex loco inde munito. *Inde*, i. e., ex Capitolio, tanquam *ex loco munito*. So below, c. 43, *atque inde ex loco superiore*.

27. Flaminem; i. e., Quirinalem, as mentioned in the next chapter.

30. Si arx, etc. See note on *arcem*, I. 11.

XL. The Capitoline is occupied by the younger men; most of the plebeians escape to the Janiculum and remoter places.

2. Ad agmen juvenum. Florus says that the force which garrisoned 97
the Capitol did not exceed a thousand men. I. 13; Arnold, vol. 1, p. 325, n. 38.

28. Onere partito; part. of a deponent verb, used passively.—**Sublicio ponte.** See note on I. 33, and the Plan of Rome.

XLI. The Gauls enter the city, and slaughter the aged nobles, as they sat in their ivory chairs, in the porches of their houses.

6. Quæ augustissima vestis...ea vestiti; = *ea aug. veste, quæ, etc.*, 98
the *toga picta*, or purple embroidered toga.—*Tensas ducentibus.* The *tensæ* were sacred vehicles, in which were carried the statues of certain deities, in the procession of the Circensian games. "They were escorted (*deducere*) by the senators in robes of state, who laid hold of the bridles and traces, or perhaps assisted to drag the carriage (*ducere*) by means of thongs attached for the purpose."—Dict. Antiqq.

7. Medio ædium. See note on this expression, I. 57.—**Eburnis sellis;** i. e., the *sella curulis*, the chair of state, which was ornamented with ivory. Under the republic, the right of using this chair belonged to the dictator, the consuls, prætors, curule ædiles, censors, and to the Flamen Dialis. See Dict. Antiqq. (*Sella*.)

8. Sunt, qui, ...devoxisse eos se...tradant. Plutarch gives this account in his Life of Camillus, 21. The devoted offered himself, *diis man-*

PAGE *ibus tellurique* (Liv. VIII. 9) as a willing victim on the part of his own coun-
 98 trymen, that the other victims required by fate might be taken from the army of the enemy. The *Dii manes*, strictly the spirits of a man's own ancestors, here are the powers of death generally. *Tellus* has in it the notion of the grave. See Arnold, vol. 1, p. 327, note 45.

14. *Patente Collina porta*. Niebuhr says that the story of the gates being left open is incredible, and adds that Diodorus "states that the Gauls, on finding the walls entirely deserted, *burst open the gates*."—Hist. Rome, vol. 2, p. 543.

18. *Vacuis occursu hominum viis*; "*viæ, in quibus nulli homines occurrunt*."—Ruperti. Niebuhr compares the feelings of the Gauls on entering the city, and finding it all desolate and deathlike, with that "awe which comes upon a stranger, on passing in summer through a town, in a high northern latitude, at midnight, when all is clear as day, yet no mark of life is to be seen in the streets."—Vol. 2, p. 544.

19. *Ea demum*. *Demum, at least, certainly*. "Demum cum pronominibus cujusvis generis conjungitur, ut præstantia aut qualitas propria significatur, et ut major vis adjiciatur demonstrationi."—Hand, Turs. 2, p. 256.

23. *Plebis ædificiis . . . atriis principum*. *Ædificium* is the generic word for buildings of all kinds, like *οἰκόδομα*. *Atrium* is a nobler expression, *hall*; as we say, *halls of the great*. Other synonymes are *ædes*, *domus*, both meaning a *dwelling-house*; *domus* as the home of a family, *ædes* as composed of several apartments, like *δόμοι, δώματα*.—D.

25. *In ædium vestibulis*. "Paulo ante dixit, 'medio ædium.' In medio scilicet atri, quod fere in aditu ædium."—Ruperti. Plutarch, in his Life of Camillus, c. 21, states that they sat in the Forum. Zonaras, 7, 23, says that they were eighty in number. See Niebuhr, vol. 2, p. 542.

26. *Ornatum habitumque*. *Ornatus* refers to dress, *splendor of apparel*; "*habitus* has a more general sense, whatever belongs to the exterior, cleanliness, mode of dressing the hair, carriage of the body," etc. (Döderlein), *bearing, outward appearance*. So also we find in Livy *vestitus habitusque*, XXVIII. 12; ib. 27; XXIX. 17; XXX. 33. Also *cultus habitusque*, XXIII. 34.

XLII–XLIII. *Having forced the city, the Gauls make ineffectual attempts to take the citadel; they then prepare for a blockade.*

99

3. *Perinde atque*. See note on *perinde*, III. 44. *Atque, as*.

7. *Non solum . . . sed ne . . . quidem*. See note on *non modo—sed ne—quidem*, I. 40.

8. Concipere. This is the reading of the MSS., *conspere*, the conject- PAGE
ure of Lipsius, the reading of most editions. With either reading the 99
sense is substantially the same: *not only lost all control over their minds,*
but even their ears and eyes. They were completely bewildered, and could
not credit the evidence of their senses.

11. Avertisset; the reading of the MSS., not *advertisset*, the reading in
most editions. Comp. I. 12, *averteratque ea res*; VI. 23, *in se averterat*.

21. Quin...defenderent; *quin* with the subjunctive, on account of
the foregoing negative in *nihil—flexerunt*. H. 498.

34. Testudine facta. "The name of *testudo* was applied to the cover-
ing made by a close body of soldiers, who placed their shields over their
heads to secure themselves against the darts of the enemy." See Dict.
Antiqq.

1. Medio fere clivo, etc. The Capitoline hill was at this time guarded 100
all round by a natural defence of precipitous cliff; and there was only
one regular means of access to the summit from below, the clivus or
ascent to the Capitol. Comp. Arnold, vol. I, p. 328.

4. Ut nunquam; i. e., *ita ut, so that*.

12. Ad Romanam, etc. This clause must be joined with *duxit*, not
proficiscentes.

23. Quando; *since*; *quando* introduces the reasons for the use of the
word *cives*.

24. Conditionis meæ; i. e., as an exile.

29. In bello; i. e., *belli tempore*. So VII. 1, *pace belloque*; XXIV. 1,
pace ac bello. Also XXVII. 5; XLII. 46. Yet the ablative alone occurs
more commonly, joined with an adjective or genitive, as *primo Punico bello*,
XXI. 1; *Pyrrhi bello*, XXXI. 31. Where the preposition occurs even with
an adjective or genitive, e. g., II. 27, *in Volseo bello*, and VI. 27, and in
other passages, the expression has not an exclusive reference to time.
See Z., §§ 318, 475, note.

36. Cui...dederit. For the subjunctive, see first note on II. 8.

3. Vagique...palantur. These words occur together very fre- 101
quently in Livy. Thus *vagos palantes* in VII. 17; X. 20; XXIII. 42;
palati vagabantur, XXXI. 21; *vagos palatosque*, XXXIII. 15. The idea of
wandering about without fixed purpose is common to both expressions;
but *palari* has in it the additional idea of separation from others, and
wandering alone.—D.

5. Stationibus ac custodiis. *Stationes* and *custodiæ* are nearly allied
in signification, both meaning bodies of soldiers under arms; but *statio*
from *stare* has in it the idea of *remaining*, being *posted* in some place, like
our word *post*, *outpost*, *custodia*, from *custos*, the idea of *guarding*, *protect-*
ing, *guard*. Thus they are connected by *ac* or *que*, not by *et*. So in
XXI. 14, *stationibus custodiisque*. So in II. 39, *vigiliæ, watches, night*

PAGE watches, occurs with *stationes*, and connected in the same way, *stationes* 101 *vigiliasque*.

13. *Æquis iniquisque*; i. e., "*amicis et inimicis*."—Ruperti.

15. *Corpora curant*. *Corpora curare* in the sense of *cibum sumere*, taking food, refreshment, is a common expression in Livy.

31. *Habuerint*; the perf., though the imperf. has just occurred in *facient*, but *in animo habuerint* the sense is aoristic, and the expression is almost = *oppugnaturi fuerint*.

37. *Quin...facient*. H. 498.

102 **2. *Rem...sustinuere***; i. e., *distulerunt*, "put off."

9. *Esse*; the historical infinitive, which occurs not unfrequently in the apodosis.

13. *Gabino cinctus*. Comp. VIII. 9, *Incinctus cinctu Gabino*. The *cinctus Gabinus* is the name for a way of wearing the toga. One end was thrown over the back, and the other passed round the waist, so as to make a girdle.

16. *Terrorem*; used, by metonymy, for any thing which occasions fear. So in IV. 21, *terroras ac prodigia*; XXIX. 27, *celestes maritimique terrores*. In like manner occur, *metus*, *timor*, *formido*.

19. *Mortis...metu*; must be taken both with *prohibitus* and with *deseruisset*.

31. *Negare se commissurum, cur, etc.* *Negare* = *dicere non*. *Committre cur*, to give occasion for. *Committre* in this sense is usually followed by *ut*. The construction with *cur* is rare.

103 **2. *Secundo Tiberi***; down the Tiber. So XXI. 28, *secunda aqua*; ib. 47, *secundam aquam*, down the stream.

10. *Seu...quod...dictus*. Livy mentions two opinions in regard to the return of Camillus; the first, that he was conducted to Veii, before the law had been passed by the curies (*lex curiata*) appointing him dictator; the second, that he did not leave Ardea until after the *lex curiata* had been passed, and he had been appointed, in his absence, dictator. To the second, Livy himself inclines, as the more probable.

19. *Ad Carmentis*; sc. *ædem*. See note on *ad Murciae*, I. 33.

24. *Fallerent*. *Fallere*, to escape the notice of, is very frequent in Livy. So below, *fefellere*; and II. 19, *nec fefellit—ducem*; III. 8, *Lucretium—agmen fefellit*.

104 **3. *Classico***; primarily a signal given with the *cornu*, trumpet; then, by metonymy, the instrument itself. Dict. Antiqq., *Cornu*.

20. *Ab...memoria*. *Ab* = *propter*, on account of. So above, c. 44, *ab secundis rebus incauti*. Also, II. 49, *ab levitate*; IV. 32, *ab—occasione*; ib. 41, *ab re male gesta*; XXI. 36, *a glacie*. So also, *ab ira*, *a cupiditate*, *ab odio*. See Z. § 305; Hand, Turs. I., p. 32.

26. Quorum...fecere. The two parts of the sentence as follows: PAGE
Quum gens—morerentur, jam—urebant bustorumque—fecerunt. 104

3. Stationibus vigillisque. See above, on c. 44.

5. Diem de die. *De die*, literally, *from, away from*, i. e., *immediately* 105
after, day after day, from day to day. So XXV. 25, *diem de die deferret.*
 Z. § 308; Hand, Turs. II., p. 207.

7. Quum stationes procederent; i. e., “*quum progredierentur milites;* ponit ecce, ante oculos, ut aspiciamus fame affectos, procedentes cum armis, vix incedentes, vix arma tenentes.”—Bauer.

14. Mille pondo. *Pondo* is used as a plural form, meaning “pounds,” and is the same in all cases. It is also used as an abl., meaning “in weight.”

20. Prohibuere...vivere. For *prohibere* with the infinitive see note, I. 39. The construction is common in Livy. Compare IV. 49; V. 26; VIII. 38; IX. 30; XXVI. 41.

35. Providit. We might expect *providet*, as *instruit* precedes, were not the change in tenses so common in Livy. Thus, below, we have, *ibi—obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et—relictus.* Compare I. 48, *arripit—dejecit.*

2. Majore momento; i. e., *m. vi.* Compare note, I. 47. *Momentum* 106
 is thus frequently used for the *force* or *effort* put forth, in order to effect any thing. Compare VIII. 19, *levi momento;* XXI. 43, *perlevi momento;* also XXIII. 24; XXIV. 34; XLII. 59.

3. Justiore...prælio. *Prælium justum* is a formal, *regular* battle, in opposition to *tumultuarium p.*, i. e., one that takes place without due preparation, *disorderly.* So, in XXIII. 37; ib. 40; XXXV. 4. So also *justa pugna*, XXII. 8, and *justa acies*, XXI. 8. For an account of the corruptions of the story of the retreat of the Gauls, see Arn. Hist. Rome, vol. 1, p. 330.

BOOK TWENTY-FIRST.

I. *Reflections upon the magnitude and importance of the Second Punic War.*

1. In parte; placed at the beginning of the sentence, for the sake of 107
 emphasis. The historian makes a remark at the beginning of a *part* of his work which *very many historians* (*plerique—scriptores*) have made at the beginning of the whole (*summæ totius*). Translate *licet—præfari* (literally, it is permitted, etc.), *I may premise.*

2. Plerique. Thucydides begins his history of the Peloponnesian war with a similar remark.

PAGE 5. *Gessere*. For the indicative, see H. 527, 2, 1); also Madvig,
107 § 369, Obs. 1, 2.—*Nam neque, etc.* In this sentence and the succeeding one, the general thought given in *maxime—memorabile* is unfolded in three pairs of clauses beginning with *neque—neque, et—et, etiam—etiam*.

7. *His ipsis*; i. e., the Romans and the Carthaginians. *Vires* and *robur* illustrate the general word *opes* (*opibus*); *opes* (literally, helps), means of help, *resources*; *vires, forces*, as illustrating *opes* in respect of quantity, numbers, effectiveness; *robur, strength*, in respect of quality, and especially of endurance and resistance.

8. *Inter sese*. The position of these words seems to determine their relation to *ignotas*; but Alschevski and Weissenborn both connect them with *conserebant*.

10. *Propius periculum*; H. 437, 1.

11. *Vicerunt*; for the mood, see note above, on l. 5, *gessere*.

13. *Inferrent...erederent*; the subjunctive, because the reason is ascribed in the one case to the Romans, in the other to the Carthaginians. H. 520, II.

15. *Annorum*; gen. of characteristic.

16. *Africo bello*. This was a war or an insurrection in Africa, of the Carthaginian mercenaries against the Carthaginian government, occasioned by the failure of the government to pay them for their services in the First Punic War. It began just after the peace with Rome, and continued, according to Livy, in the next chapter, five years; but, according to Polybius, three years and four months, 241–238 B. C. The war is sometimes called the Mercenary, sometimes the Civil War. See Liddell, c. 30; Mommsen, B. 3, c. 3.

17. *Altaribus*. *Altaria* (used in plural, Madvig, § 51, Obs. c.) derived from *altus*, and, in distinction from the generic *ara*, meaning *high altar*.

20. *Sicilia...amissæ*; *the loss of Sicily and Sardinia*.—*Siiciliam...concessam*; the acc. with infin. is dependent upon some word suggested by *angebant*; *for he thought Sicily had been conceded, etc.* The cession of Sicily was one of the terms of the treaty which was concluded at the end of the First Punic War.

21. *Sardiniam...fraude, etc.* During the African War, the Carthaginian garrisons in Sardinia sided with the insurgents, and offered the island to the Romans; this offer the Romans accepted, taking advantage of the distressed circumstances of the Carthaginians.

22. *Stipendio*. When the African War was concluded, the Carthaginians demanded the restitution of Sardinia. The Romans not only silenced this demand by threatening war, but also *besides* (*insuper*) exacted a *war contribution* (*stipendium*) of 1,200 talents for alleged injuries done by the Carthaginians to Roman traders. Liddell, p. 287; Mommsen, B. 3, c. 3, pp. 68, 69.

II. *The operations of Hamilcar and of Hasdrubal in Spain.* PAGE 107

25. Novem annis; 235–227, B. C., or, according to Mommsen, 236–228. Hamilcar possessed himself of the southern coast of Spain, and of a part of the eastern coast; his conquests extended probably as far as the river Bætis. His object was to establish a great and rich province in Spain, from which he could get money and men for his intended war against Rome.

5. Octo...annes; 227–221 B. C. *Flore ætatis*, literally, by the flower 108 of his age, i. e., *by his youthful beauty*.

6. Primo...conciliatus; at first conciliated to H.; *having at first won the favor of Hamilcar*. Livy adds *uti ferunt*, as he does not wish to be responsible for a statement which involved something discreditable to Hamilcar.

7. Aliam...animi; *aliam indolem* in opposition to *flore ætatis*; and so *animi* with *profecto* is added as explanatory; *on account of other natural qualities, and indeed of the mind*.

8. Barcinæ. The word Barcas, or Barca, in Hebrew Barak, means lightning, and was a cognomen of Hamilcar, and so gave a name *Barcina* to his family, and to the political party which supported him, and, after him, Hasdrubal and Hannibal. This party was the party of the army and of the people, in distinction from the government party, supported by the *principes*, or leading men of the state, and led by Hanno.

14. Ob iram, etc. The object of *iram* is not *domini* alone, but *interfecti ab eo domini*; *on account of anger at his master having been slain by him*.

16. Vultu; abl. of characteristic, as also in next line *eo—habitu*.

18. Præbuerit; for the tense, see note on *ausi sint*, I. 3.

20. Fuerat; the pluperfect in relation to *renovaverat*, which in its turn is pluperfect in relation to what has just before been related of Hasdrubal.

21. Ut...esset; the subjunctive of result, dependent upon some demonstrative expression to be supplied with *fœdus*; *had renewed the league on such terms, that the river Iberus, etc.* This renewal of the league belongs to the year 227, the first of Hasdrubal's command. Hasdrubal extended the Carthaginian rule northward as far as the river Tagus. Polybius does not mention this provision for the independence of Saguntum as belonging to this renewed league; but he mentions a league made, 226, between Rome on the one side and Saguntum and Emporiæ on the other, which was to secure these cities from the assaults of the Carthaginians. See Mommsen, B. 3, c. 4, p. 97

PAGE
108 III. *Choice of Hannibal as the successor of Hasdrubal.*

24. *In...locum...sequeretur.* With this reading, the passage is an instance of the *anacoluthon* (see H. 704, III. 4, Madvig, § 480, and note on I. 40). Instead of going on and joining with *in locum* some such clause as, *Hannibal succederet*, the writer changes the construction, having the new thought in his mind of the particular way in which Hannibal was brought to the place of commander. As it stands, it may thus be translated: *There was no doubt but that for the succession to Hasdrubal's place the favor of the commons would follow the military choice, by which, etc.* But Madvig and Weissenborn read *quin . . . prærogativa militaris—sequebatur*, and suppose that some words have been lost, which made the predicate for *prærogativa*.

25. *Prærogativam.* See note III. 51, on this word. Livy uses relations and usages familiar in Roman politics, as applicable also to the Carthaginian state.—*Juvenis.* According to Livy, XXX. 37, Hannibal was forty-five years old in the year 202 B. C., which would fix his present age (218 B. C.) at twenty-nine; so also Polybius, 15, 19; whom Mommsen follows, B. 3, c. 4, p. 98. But Nepos puts his age in 218 at twenty-five; Arnold, c. XLIII., speaks of him as now twenty-six, and Liddell as twenty-four.

28. *Hasdrubal...arcessierat.* This is not mentioned by Polybius at all, and it is uncertain to what authority Livy is indebted for it. But it seems to be at variance with his words in XXX. 37, where he represents Hannibal as saying at Carthage that he went away from Carthage with his father at the age of nine, and now (202 B. C.) had returned after the lapse of thirty-six years.

32. *Et æquum;* the *et*, both, *on the one hand*, prepares the way for the following *et tamen*.

34. *Ancipitis;* *ambiguous*, literally, two-headed or two-sided; all wondered that he could say that Hasdrubal's demand seemed to be just, and yet ought not to be granted.

36. *Eum;* a repetition of *florem ætatis*, for the sake of emphasis.

37. *Nos tamen, etc.* These words are designed to give one reason on the part of the speaker for opposition to Hasdrubal's demand, and a reason drawn from morals.

109 1. *An hoc, etc.* Hanno proceeds to another reason, and now a political one—that *Hamilcar's son* should not succeed to his father's arbitrary power.

3. *Cujus, etc.* The relative clause contains in it the antecedent: *the son of that king (ejus) to whose* (literally, of which king) *son-in-law our armies, etc.*

5. *Istum;* *that youth of yours;* the speaker thus addresses his

opponents (with the pronoun *iste*) and with something of contempt in his tone. PAGE
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IV. *The character of Hannibal.*

9. *Ac...optimus quisque*; *ac* means here *and indeed*; few in number, though, it was true, well nigh all the best men and character.

10. *Meliorem*; Livy thus represents the government party as *the better*, because it represented the aristocracy, corresponding to the Roman *optimates*, and perhaps too because that party favored the Romans. But the Barcine party was the *more numerous*—*major*.

15. *Pater in se*. *In se* is ablative; the father in him, i. e., *the resemblance in him to his father*. *Se* may also be accusative, and the preposition relate to *conciliandum*; but the position of *in se* with *pater* seems to determine the pronoun as an ablative.

17. *Parendum atque imperandum*; appositives to *res*.

18. *Discerneres*; see note on *timerem*, II. 7.

20. *Præficere*; here used absolutely; *to put any one else in command*; ordinarily limited by such a word as *exercitui*, or *copiis*, or the like.—*Ubi—esset*; subjunctive of repeated action; H. 486, III. 5; also Madvig, § 359.

27. *Discriminata*; *divided*. Tacitus says of Agricola, c. 9, *tempora curarum remissionumque divisa*. *Gerendis rebus*; *rebus* dative after *superesset*; *was over after the transaction of business*. *Superesset*, same subjunctive as just above, *ubi esset*.

30. *Custodias*; see note on these words, V. 44.

32. *Conspiciebantur*; this clause seems to follow the preceding one with something of an adversative relation; *his dress nowise excelled that of his equals*, but *his arms and his horses always attracted attention*.

33. *Ibat...excedebat*; the imperfect tense expresses his habit in these particulars.

35. *Crudelitas*. Instances certainly are not wanting of Hannibal's cruelty; on the other hand, Livy records instances of his generosity towards his fallen foes, Flaminius, Gracchus, and Marcellus; XXII. 7; XXV. 17; XXVII. 28. Certainly, in respect of cruelty, he bears a favorable comparison with the Roman commanders, for instance with Claudius Nero, in his treatment of Hasdrubal's body after the battle of the Metaurus, Livy, XXVII. 51.—*Perfidia*. The Romans were fond of contrasting their own national character with that of the Carthaginians by the expressions *Romana fides* and *Punica perfidia*, and certainly the Carthaginians deserve no commendation for good faith; but there is no evidence that Hannibal reached this bad eminence among his countrymen.

36. *Nihil veri, etc.* All these expressions illustrate the tendency of

PAGE the Latin language to use *nihil* with a neuter adjective, and *nullus* with a
 109 noun designating a positive quality, to express qualities of a negative kind, for which it had no substantives: thus here, *nothing true* for untruthfulness, *nothing sacred* for immorality, *no fear* for irreverence, *no oath* for perjury, *no religion* for irreligion. Nægelsbach, in his *Stilistik*, § 18, has fully illustrated this Latin usage.

V. *Hannibal's conquests in Spain*, 221, 220 B. C.

110 4. *Ceterum*; literally, for the rest; translate *however*; it indicates that the historian resumes the narrative which was begun in the first sentence of c. 3.

9. *Quibus oppugnandis*; abl. of cause; but the expression has for us the force of a condition = *qui si oppugnarentur*. *Movebantur* as the apodosis is in the indicative (when we should expect the subjunctive), in order to express the writer's own conviction, that (in case of the attack of Saguntum) this movement on the part of the Romans would be the necessary result. See H. 475, 2; Madvig, 348, b.

10. *Oleadum*. This people, mentioned only in narratives of this war, lived near the sources of the Anas, in the territory ordinarily ascribed to the Oretani. *Ultra Iberum* is said relatively to the Romans, and thus south of the river, in accordance with the condition mentioned at the end of c. 2.

13. *Finitimis...jungendeque*. These words unfold the idea contained in *serie rerum*. The *neighboring tribes* were successively *subdued*, and then *joined* to the Carthaginian possessions. But such a use of *jungere* without any object expressed is unusual.—*Ad id bellum*; = *ad bellum cum iis*, to a war with that people. Hannibal wished to have it appear that he had not purposely assailed Saguntum, but that by circumstances he had been drawn into a war with them.

15. *Quo metu*; = *cujus rei metu*. Fabri.

16. *Stipendio imposito*. It must here be noticed that the action expressed in the abl. abs. does not proceed from the subject of the principal verb *accepere*, but only relates to them; and it shows the circumstances under which they submitted to the Carthaginian dominion; *after a tribute had been imposed upon them*.

19. *Præterito*; past in the sense of being due for former services; translate, *arrears of pay*.

20. *Vere primo*; i. e., in the spring of the year 220. The Vaccæi lived in the north of Spain, in the valley of the Durius, the modern *Douro*.

25. *Carpetanos*; they lived on the north of the Tagus, their chief city, Teletum, the modern Toledo.

28. *Ab hostibus*; *ab*, from; i. e., *on the part of, the enemy*.

PAGE

29. *Ita producte*; *ita*, in such a way; i. e., only so far toward the river, *that the enemy*, etc. 110

32. *Impeditum*; this reading (instead of *peditum*) is adopted by Madvig and Weissenborn from Heerwagen.

35. *Dimicaretur*; the imperfect, in reference to the time of the occurrence; *an invincible army, if the battle were fought on even ground*.

37. *Quod credebant*; the indicative, because the reason is given as the writer's.

1. *Quod interesset*; the subjunctive, because the reason is not given as the writer's, but as that of the subject of *rati*. 111

3. *Inmissa*; *sc. est*. So also with *concursum* supply *est*, as these are the principal verbs of the sentence.

5. *Quippe ubi...posset...gereret*. The subjunctive of relative clause denoting reason; literally, as being where, etc.; i. e., *since there*, etc. —*Instabilis, unsteady*; and this is explained by the next expression, *vix* —*fidens, hardly trusting the ford*.

10. *Postremi*, etc. Begin with *quum*; *when the last, to whom*, etc.

12. *Pavore*; we should expect a preposition, e. g., *a* with *pavore*, and some editors read *a pavore*; *before they recovered their spirits from so great a panic*.

VI. Preparations for the siege of Saguntum.

18. *Serebantur*. The word *sator*, just below, shows that this is the imperf. of *serere*, *sevi*, *satum*, *to sow*.

19. *Turdetanis*. The place of this people is generally fixed by ancient writers as in the southwestern part of Spain, between the Bætis and the Anas. But there is evidence, not only in this passage, but in others also, of a tribe of this or a similar name in the neighborhood of Saguntum; so in XXIV. 42; XXVIII. 39.

20. *Nec certamen*, etc.; *and it was apparent that not a contest for right, but (that) violence was purposed*.

24. *De republica retulissent*; literally, had reported concerning the state, i. e., *had proposed for consideration the condition of the state*.

26. *Quibus si...causa*; may be translated as if it were: *qui si videretur digna causa*; and thus the relative in the English sentence will be the subject of the verbs that follow

29. *Hac...missa*; these words sum up what has been just said, and in translation are equivalent to a subordinate clause; *when this embassy had been decreed, and not yet sent*. Livy represents the siege as having begun before the embassy had been sent; but Polybius, the embassy as having reached Hannibal before he had commenced the siege. Livy seems also

PAGE to represent Hannibal as having begun the war (see c. 10) without the
111 consent of the Carthaginian government.

33. *Decernentes*; *decernere* here = *decerni velle*. So also in the next line *intenderant* means *had decided that the war should be directed*, etc.

35. *Exspectandosque . . . legatos*; these words are joined by *que* to the foregoing by way of explanation. In English we should be more apt to have the words joined adversatively.

VII-VIII. *The siege of Saguntum commenced.*

112 5. *Dum parant*. For this use of the historic present with *dum*, even when the leading proposition has its verb in an historical tense, see H. 467, III. 4, and Madvig, § 336, Obs. 2. Saguntum, the modern Murviedro, which derives its name from the ruins, *muri veteres*, of the ancient city. It was south of the Ebro, and in the territory of the Edetani.

8. *Zacynthe*; the modern Zante, in the Ionian sea.

9. *Ceterum . . . opes*; the writer resumes what he had just said of Saguntum as *civitas opulentissima*.

11. *Qua*; *by reason of which*; i. e., as a consequence of their *blameless manner of life* they kept their *faith with their allies* even to their own injury.

12. *Hannibal infesto, etc.*; a return to the narrative on p. 111, line 30, where the siege of Saguntum is mentioned.

16. *Vineas . . . aries*. The *vineæ*, from *vinum*, literally, vineyards, and then vine-arbors, were sheds used to shelter the soldiers when occupied in the active operations of a siege. They were about eight feet high and sixteen long, made of wood, with the roof covered with hides to keep them from being set on fire. The *aries*, or *battering-ram*, was a powerful beam, furnished at one end with a mass of iron in the form of a ram's head, which was driven against the walls of a fortified place, in order to make a breach in them.

17. *Æquus*; this word is the predicate with *fuit*; and *vineis*, in the dat., limits it.

19. *Succedebat*; impersonal, and *cæptis* limits it, in the dative.

20. *Ut in suspecto loco*. *Ut* is often used, as here, in explanation, by comparison, of the circumstances under which that which is mentioned in the principal clause takes place; as (i. e., as usually is the case = *ut plerumque fit*) *in a suspected place*. So also below in c. 36, *ut a—glacie*.

24. *Munientibus*; may be translated *for the working parties*. *Munire* and the words coming from it express the operations both of a besieged and of a besieging party.

25. *Micare*; intransitive, and in the historical infinitive, and having *tela* for its subject; *pro* means *forth from*; *now not only did their weapons flash forth from*, etc., but they *had the courage*, etc.

29. Dum...subit. See note above on *dum*—*parant*. *Adversum*, literally, turned toward, i. e., in the front of his thigh. *Femur* is the acc. of specification. *Tragula* is a spear (used also by the Gauls) discharged by means of machinery, but of which we have no particular descriptions. PAGE 112

31. Opera ac vineæ; the works, and especially the vineæ. *Opera* is the general word. So also, just below, c. 8, *operum ac munitionum*; c. 11, *vinearum aliorumque operum*; and II. 17, *vineis aliisque operibus*.

VIII.—33. Obsidio; from *ob* and *sedere*, literally, a sitting over against, i. e. (through the French), a siege, in the sense of an investment or blockade of a place, whether by troops or by ships. But *oppugnatio*, from *ab* and *pugnare*, a fighting against, means an active siege, in which the place is assaulted as well as enclosed. Thus in Livy, II. 11, *consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis*.

34. Dum curaretur; the subjunctive, because the idea of purpose is involved. H. 521, I. 1; Madvig, 360, Obs. 2.

37. Partibus; used as an abl. of place; so also *una parte*, *altera parte*, *neutra parte*, and other expressions, and generally, as in these, an adjective with the noun.

6. Una; sc. *pars*, from the *partes* just before mentioned.

10. Pariter utrosque; i. e., not merely the Saguntines, but the Carthaginians as well; and so on *both sides* they ran forth to the fight, not merely the Carthaginians, but the Saguntines as well, as if they too thought (for such is the force of the subjunctive in *texisset*) that the wall had hitherto been a protection to their enemy.

13. Partis alterius; of either party, *alterius* here = *alterutrius*. *Iustæ acies*, regular lines.

16. Cepisse...annitatur; these tenses are used to express the certainty of success; that he has already taken the city, if he make a little additional (*ad* and *niti*) effort; in *oratio recta*, it would be *ceperimus*, *si annitemur*.

21. Inter arma; i. e., between the arms, so as not to strike them, and *corpora* is added to show that, not the arms alone, but the bodies (as more important) were struck by every missile.

22. Phalarica. The word *telo* in the last sentence suggests to the writer this description of the *phalarica*, as a missile probably unknown to his countrymen. It was called so from *phala*, or *fala*, the name of the lofty tower from which it was generally discharged.

24. Id; i. e., the *extremum*; the end from which the iron head projected was square, just as in the *pilum*; and the comparison is made with the *pilum*, because the latter was the regular missile of the Roman infantry; that which, just as in the *pilum*, was square, they bound round, etc.

25. The subject of *habebat* is a pronoun referring to *phalarica*, but of *posset* the subject is *ferrum*.

- PAGE 26. *Sed*, etc.; the *sed* comes in to limit what has just been said, *ut*
 113 *cum armis—posset*; thus: it was not necessary that the body should be
 pierced: *but this especially, even if*, etc.

IX. *The arrival in Spain of the Roman embassy.*

33. *Resisterent*; the subjunctive, because it expresses the view of the Saguntines. So also *vicissent*, because it gives the view of the Carthaginian. *Pro victo*, in the place of one conquered, i. e., *as good as conquered*.
 114 4. *Operæ*; dat. See n. I. 24; *and that Hannibal had no leisure*.
 8. *Gratificari pro Romanis*; this is an unusual construction; ordinarily, we find the dative with this verb.

X. *Hanno's speech in the Carthaginian senate.*

10. *Ea quoque*; i. e., the one to Carthage was vain, as well as the one to Hannibal; except that the former got a hearing.
 14. *Saguntino*; sc. *bello*.
 20. *Serendo*; from *sero*, *serui*, *sertum*, to join. The expression occurs also in II. 18; VII. 39; XXXI. 6.
 25. *Ulti*; masc., because agreeing with *Romani*, included in *legiones*.
 28. *Vester*; and, below, *vos*, because the speaker is addressing his opponents in the other party of the senate.
 29. *Unde*; = *a quibus*, referring to *castra*; *yet these driven from that place* (i. e., Hannibal's camp), *from which the ambassadors not of enemies even*, etc.
 31. *Publica fraus absit*; said in the sense of the Roman ambassadors; (they say) *let there be no injury on the part of the state*; the injury, in attacking Saguntum, had been done by Hannibal, but the state, by refusing satisfaction, endorsed Hannibal's conduct.
 33. *Ægates insulas*; i. e., the naval victory gained by the Romans off these islands in the First Punic War, in consequence of which Hamilcar was compelled to evacuate Eryx.
 36. *Isti*; the speaker refers by this to his opponents; *as those men of your party will have it*.
 37. *Id est Italia*. Livy here follows some authority, according to which the Carthaginians had agreed to keep aloof from Italy.
 115 2. *Id, de quo, etc.* *Id*, an adverbial acc., *in respect to that, concerning which*, etc.
 8. *Ergo*; i. e., as an inference from the speaker's words; and *aliquis* means *some one* from the opposite party.
 9. *In eo*; i. e., *Hannibale*, *in regard to him*.

XI. *The reply to the Roman ambassadors.—The siege of Seguntum continued.* PAGE
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25. **Hannibalis**; pred. genitive; was Hannibal's, i. e., *was in Hannibal's interest.*

29. **Saguntinos**; briefly said for *Saguntinorum societatem.*

35. **In** . . . *stimulando*; added to explain *ira*; in the same way as *spe* is more nearly defined by *præmiorum.*

4. **Novum**; this is put with *reficerent*, because, by restoring the wall, 116 they really had, in the end, a new one.

9. **Turris mobilis**; *a movable tower*, divided into several *stories* (*tabulata*), the lowest containing the *aries*, and the upper ones furnished with bridges and other contrivances for bringing the besiegers on to the walls; the highest of all was filled with light troops, who cleared the ramparts of their defenders, before the bridges were let down for an assault.

11. **Catapultis ballistisque**; military engines, employed in sieges, the former for discharging darts and spears, the latter for hurling ponderous stones.

15. **Cæmenta**: from *cædimenta*, *cædere*, the cut or *quarried stones*; these were not *hardened* (an unusual meaning for *durare*) *by lime*, but *were smeared between with mud.*

17. **Cæderetur**; potential, with idea of repeated action; *than where it might be struck.*

26. **Hostium**; pred. genitive.

XII. *An attempt at mediation made by Alco and Alorcus.*

33. **Præfecerat**; used absolutely, as above, c. 4.

34. **Cives**; the Carthaginians.

5. **Moturum**; sc. *se*; and *aliquid* is used adverbially, as also *nilil*, just 117 below; *that he would have some influence.*

7. **Ut ab irato**; see note above, c. 7, on *ut in—loco.*

9. **Moriturum**; sc. *se*. The meaning is, that the Saguntines would put any one to death who should presume to propose such terms of peace. The preposition *sub* is unusual with *conditionibus*; this and one other, VI. 40, are the only instances in Livy; ordinarily, only the ablative occurs.

12. **Jussisset**; pluperfect, because past in relation to *habitaient*, and because the whole sentence depends upon the past tense *postulabatur*. In the *ora'tio recta* it would be *ibi habitate* (or *habitabitis*) *ubi—jusserit* (fut. perf.).

14. **Alia**; *other things*; i. e., such as arms, walls, and all means of resistance.

- PAGE 16. *Publice* . . . *hospes* ; in antithesis to *miles* ; and *publice* refers to his
 117 relation to the Saguntine government ; the honors of a guest of the state
 had been conferred upon him.

XIII. *Speech of Alorcus in the Saguntine senate.*

24. *Quo* . . . *venissem* ; *quo*, sc. *itinere*, on which (journey) ; translate since *I should have come*. The clause explains the preceding one, *super-vacaneum*—*iter*, and it is in the subjunctive for the same reason as that one, because it also contains the conclusion to *si*—*retulisset*.

31. *Ullius alterius* ; of any one else ; *alter* here = *alius* ; the speaker seems to refer to Hannibal.

32. *Vel ea fides sit* ; *ea* looks forward to the clause *quod*, etc., but agrees in gender with *fides* ; let even this be a proof.

34. *Postquam* . . . *est*. *Postquam* is frequently used with *est* as historic present, but here it is the real present ; it stands for some present state of things, which however is the result of something past. Fabri makes the clause equivalent to *postquam eo ventum est ut sit*, etc.

37. *Ita* . . . *si* ; thus—if, i. e., on this condition, if, etc.

- 118 1. *Sic* ; corresponds to *quemadmodum*, as *ut victor* to *ut victi* and *Hannibal* to *vos*.

2. *In damno* ; modifies *habituri estis*.

4. *Ex magna parte* ; limits *dirutum*, and *fere* limits *captam*.

9. *Binis* ; probably a mistake in the text, as above, in c. 12, it was *singulis*.

12. *Quum* . . . *ei facta sit* ; *ei* refers to Hannibal ; literally, when the power of all things has been made to him ; i. e., when all things have been placed in his power.

XIV–XV. *The city taken and sacked.*

18. *Secessione facta* ; literally, a withdrawal being made ; i. e., having withdrawn.

21. *Eodem* ; i. e., in ignem.

24. *Impetu facto* ; join with *per* ; literally, a charge being made through, etc. ; and when a cohort of Carthaginians, having rushed through the breach made by it, etc.

29. *Crudele* ; this order, though it was cruel (*fuit* being understood with *crudele*), was however ascertained by the event itself to be well nigh necessary.

- 119 4. *Octavo*, etc. Before *quam*, *post* is to be supplied, and, with *captum*, *sit*, as in the *oratio recta* it would have been *captum est* ; and, with *captum*, *esse* is to be supplied.

8. *Fieri non potuit, ut... fuerint*; *cannot have been Publius Cornelius* PAGE
and Tiberius Sempronius the consuls. It is equivalent to saying *fuisse non* 119
possunt, and hence the perf. *fuerint*.

13. *Aut Saguntum... captum*; this part of the alternative gives undoubtedly the true view. The siege began in 219, in the consulship of M. Livius and Æm. Paulus; the town was taken in the year 218, in the consulship of Cornelius and Sempronius; and then the battle of the Trebia, also in 218. "According to Polybius, 3, 13, Hannibal was chosen commander in 221, and immediately marched against the Olcades, as in Livy, above, c. 5; against the Vaccae 220, as above, c. 5; in 219, in the consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Æmilius Paulus, commenced the siege of Saguntum; in 218 commenced the march from Spain, and crossed the Alps, on the way to Italy." Weissenborn.

17. *Creatus a Tib. Sempronio*; because Sempronius presided at the comitia, at which Flaminius was created consul.

XVI-XVII. *Preparations for the war.*

26. *Summa rerum*; the sum of affairs; i. e., *the general interests of the state.*

27. *Motibus animi*; i. e., *mæror, misericordia, ira, metus.*

28. *Nam, etc.* The infinitives depend upon some word of saying or of thinking understood; e. g., *existimabant*; *for they thought, etc.*

30. *Sardos, etc.* These events all occurred in the interval between the First and the Second Punic War. Sardinia was seized by Rome during the African War, and Corsica soon after; the Istrians, at the head of the Adriatic, were conquered in 221 B. C.; the Illyrians, on the east coast of the Adriatic, were subdued 229; with the Boian and Insulrian Gauls there was a war in the years 225-221, which ended in the submission of those two tribes.

32. *Tumultuatum... belligeratum*; these verbs are both in the perf. infin. passive, and *esse* is to be supplied; the verbs are used impersonally; *and that with the Gauls they had been engaged in tumults rather than in a regular war.*

34. *Viginti annorum*; i. e., from the end of the First Punic to the beginning of the Second Punic War, 241-218.

4. *Sortiri*; *to draw lots.* At this time, and down to the year 122, 120
 when the Lex Sempronia was enacted, it was customary to determine the provinces (*decernere* or *nominare provincias*) either before the entrance of the consuls into office, or sometimes after their entrance; but the *sortitio*, or drawing of lots, generally took place after the consuls entered upon their office.

PAGE 6. **Ipsis**; i. e., *consulibus*; but generally the number of the allied
120 contingents was determined by the senate.

11. **Deducti**. Livy has *celox* masc. also in XXXVII. 27. The *celox* was so called from its swiftness.

14. **Eveniret**; the subject is *bellum*.

16. **Ea**; the pronoun refers in sense to *legiones*, but in form is attracted into the gender of *millia*. *Quaterna*, distributive for each of the legions. This number respectively of infantry and cavalry was implied above, in lines 7, 8: 24,000 of the former, and 1,800 of the latter, for six legions.

18. **Naves longæ**. These were ships of war, and, as mentioned just above, l. 10, quinqueremes. These ships were called *longæ*, because they were built long, and with a sharp keel, in distinction from the *naves onerariæ*, ships of burden, or merchant vessels, which were of a heavy build, short, and with a round hull. The *longæ* were worked by oars, the *onerariæ* by sails.

22. **Manlius prætor**. "The other prætors were L. Atilius, perhaps prætor urbanus; M. Æmilius in Sicily, c. 49; M. Terentius Varro, XXII. 25, perhaps in Sardinia." Weissenborn.

23. **Et ipse**; *himself also*. Manlius was to coöperate with Cornelius. His forces were probably those mentioned below in the last sentence of the chapter.

25. **Ea parte**; i. e., on sea.

27. **Iusto**; *regular*, i. e., three hundred for each legion, as mentioned just above.

30. **Eodem versa**. *Eodem* is explained by *in Punicum bellum*; and *versa* (neuter) agrees with all the words before given.

XVIII-XX. *The declaration of war; the reception of the Roman ambassadors in Spain and in Gaul.*

36. **Id quod**; refers to the clause following, *faterentur*—*factum*; and *if*—*a thing which it seemed they would do—they should confess and defend it as done by the counsel of the state.*

121 1. **Ut indicerent**. We might expect *ad indicendum*—*bellum*, to agree with *ad percunctandos* c.; but such changes of construction are common with Livy.

5. **Præceps...et prior, etc.** *Præceps*, for the sake of emphasis, in the first place in the sentence; and *et* means *also*; *Rash*, O Romans, was also your former embassy.

10. **Ego autem**. *Ego* with emphasis; *but* for my part I should think, etc. In *censeam* the assertion is softened, instead of the positive *censeo*.

13. Nostra, etc. Observe the emphatic word at the head of each of the clauses of the sentence; *for ours—with you*. *Animadversio* means **121** *punishment*, on the supposition that the *inquiry* is unfavorable in its result; in *atque* is thus implied—and the consequent. The English word *animadversion* retains this bad sense of the Latin *animadversio*.

17. Nobis vobiscum, etc. Before these words need to be supplied some such expression, as e. g. *licet mihi etiam dicere*, I too may say, *a treaty was struck*, etc.

20. At enim; as often, to introduce an objection: *but* you will say that is of no account, *for in that treaty, which*, etc.

21. Excipiuntur. This provision of the treaty is mentioned above, in the last sentence of c. 2.

23. Quod...fœdus, etc. The relative *quod* precedes the antecedent *eo*; *for you said that you were not held by that treaty, which*, etc.

23. Daret; in the subjunctive, because corresponding to the imperative of the *oratio recta*.

25. Dare; sc. *se, that he gave war*.

3. Excisa. Livy here uses *Saguntus* as a feminine, but ordinarily he **122** has the neuter *Saguntum*.—*Quid*; adverbial acc. (H. 454, 2), and the question implies a strong negative; *how was the treaty of Hasdrubal to be compared*, etc. ? i. e., there was no ground of comparison at all.

7. Fuerit...comprobatum sit; the subjunctive determined by *quum*, as *additum esset*; and the perfect tense is used because the writer does not carry it back, as he does *additum esset*, to the time in *comparandum erat*, but to his own time, and as his own view; but in *Hasdrubal's treaty* neither was any such exception made, and—the treaty was approved, etc.

11. Additum erat; i. e., added to the treaty; the subject of *additum erat* is the clause "*iis—essent*" (*iis* referring to *sociis*), and also the clause *ne qui—assumerentur*; *for neither had been added "those who were allies at that time" nor*, etc.

15. Tantum ne; i. e., *tantum caveretur ne*, etc. *Only that the allies should not*, etc.; that the speaker means was to be understood as a matter of course.

19. Ut adirent; dependent upon *trajecerunt*, and giving the purpose of their passing over into Spain; *ut pellicerent*, etc., dependent upon *adirent*, the purpose of visiting the states.

24. Celebre; *well known*.

26. Quæ verecundia; *what modesty is there, Romans, in your demanding*, etc.

30. Quærat; the subjunctive with *censeo*, *ut* being omitted, H. 493, 2.

7. Censere, etc.; *censere* is appositive to *postulatio*, just as above, in **12** c. 19, *postulare* is appositive to *verecundia*. *Ipsos* refers to *Galli*, and *id*

to bellum, and the clause beginning with *ne* expresses the purpose of ^{PAGE}
avertere and *obficere*; that, in order that the Gauls might not let the war ¹²³
 pass over into Italy, they should turn it upon themselves, etc. *Avertere*, to
 turn away from others (i. e., the Romans), in *se*, upon themselves.

12. *Sumant*; with the relative *ob quæ* expresses purpose.

18. *Inquisita*; participle, and *cognita* (sc. *sunt*) the verb; all things
 inquired into—were ascertained. The word *sociis* refers to the people of
 Massilia, Marseilles, who had long been on terms of alliance with Rome.

21. *Est*; for the indicative, H. 527, 2, I.) Madvig, § 369, Obs. 1, 2.

25. *In expectationem*; this is the MSS. reading, and given by Alscheff-
 ski; but Weissenborn and Madvig adopt the conjectural reading of Heer-
 wagen, *expectatione*.

XXI. *Hannibal's speech at New Carthage (Carthagena)
 to the Spanish soldiers.—The measures taken for the
 security of Africa.*

28. *Auditis*; abl. abs. with the antecedent of *quæ*.

30. *Causam . . . belli*; because the refusal of the Carthaginians to give
 him up to Rome on account of the destruction of Saguntum is thought
 of as the occasion of the war.

32. *Ego*; emphatic from the contrast with *ipsos*; *et ipsos* with *vos*,
that you yourselves also, i. e., as well as myself.

35. *Ita enim, etc.* The speaker takes it for granted that the *aut—
 bellum* makes the part of the alternative, which his hearers prefer, and
 so adds: *for in this way only will these nations flourish, etc., if we shall
 seek, etc.*

2. *Sunt*; for the indic., H. 527, 5, I.); Madvig, § 369, Obs. 1, 2.

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7. *Desiderantibus*; in the dat., agreeing with *omnibus*. *Desideranti-
 bus* and *desiderium* here express the longing desire to see their home and
 friends, home-sickness; *who both already missed their absent friends, and
 foresaw that they must miss them for a still longer time to come.*

12. *Recensuisset*; *had reviewed*.

13. *Gades*; an ancient Syrian colony, which was now in alliance with
 Carthage; the modern *Cadiz*. It was a chief seat of the worship of the
 Phœnician Hercules, the native name of whom was Melkarth, or Moloch.

14. *Si . . . evenissent*; the pluperfect, because *obligat* is the historic
 present, and so has the force of a past tense; the conclusion correspond-
 ing to the condition in *si* is implied in *votis*, as in his vows he promises
 to do certain things in case of success.

17. *Ab Sicilia*; from, i. e., *on the side of Sicily*.

18. *Pro eo*; *in the place of this*. Africa was to make good to Spain
 what Spain had furnished for Africa.

21. Uterque ; i. e., the Spaniards and the Africans. They were to be *bound by mutual pledges*, as each protected the other's country. PAGE
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23. Cetratos ; so called from the *cetra*, a small, round shield (like the *target* of the Scotch Highlanders), which was carried by the Africans, the Spaniards, and the Britons.

24. Baleares funditores ; *Balearic slingers*. But *Baleares*, from βάλλειν, the name of the inhabitants of the Balearic islands in the Mediterranean, the modern *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Ivica*, itself means slingers.

28. Præsidium . . . *obsides* ; appositive to *millia—juventutis*.

XXII. *Preparations for the defence of Spain.—The march of Hannibal from New Carthage to the Ebro.—Hannibal's vision.*

37. Libyphœnices ; these were Carthaginian subjects, of partly Phœnician, and partly Libyan or African blood.

8. Triginta ; i. e., only *thirty* ; the rest were not fitted with oars and 125
all else requisite for immediate service ; so also Polybius, 3, 33.

10. Exercitus ; genitive. The subject of *ducit* is *Hannibal* understood.

11. Etovissam ; this is the reading of Alschefski, from Sauppe's conjecture. Madvig reads *Omissam*, from the MSS., and Weissenborn *Onussam*, from the conjecture of Müller. *Præter* means *by* ; *by the city of Etovissa*.

12. Visum, etc. Livy probably takes this story from Cœlius Antipater ; Cicero also gives it in his *De Divinatione*, I. 24, on the authority of Silenus.

14. Sequeretur . . . deflecteret. In the subjunctive, because they correspond to the imperative of the *oratio recta*.

18. Oculis ; in the dative ; *could not restrain his eyes*, could not keep his eyes off from it ; see H. 385, 3.

19. Serpentem ; Cicero says, *beluam vastam et immanem, circumplacatam serpentibus*.

21. Moles ; *massive object* ; Cicero's word is *monstrum*.

XXIII–XXIV. *Hannibal crosses the Ebro, marches through the northeastern part of Spain, and over the Pyrenees into Gaul.*

29. Hergetes . . . Lacetaniam. See Geogr. Index.

32. Fauces ; *the passes*, literally gorges, of the Apennines.

33. Ad præsidium . . . regionis ; *for the defence of the region, which was to be held*

PAGE 37. *Iter averterunt*; i. e., left Hannibal; *changed the direction of their march*.

126 5. *Et ipse*; *himself also*; as well as others.

8. *Reliquis*. The forces, after the passage of the Pyrenees, were 50,000 foot and 9,000 horse.

9. *Iliberri*; the modern *Elne*, in France. The word is here neuter and indeclinable; below, *Iliberrim*, fem. and declined.

12. *Ad arma consternati*; *driven by alarm to arms*. *Ruscino*, the French town *La Tour de Roussillon*.

15. *Colloqui*; depends upon some word of saying; *that he wished to have a conference*, etc.

16. *Accederent*; corresponds to the imperative of the direct discourse.

19. *Galliæ*; genitive.

XXV. *The uprising of the Boian and Insubrian Gauls.*

26. *In Italiam interim*; this is put at the head of the sentence, as the scene of the narrative is now changed to Italy; later in the sentence *Romam* defines *in Italiam*; *meantime no further intelligence had been brought into Italy to Rome by the ambassadors of the Marseillaise, than that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, when*, etc.

28. *Perinde...Alpes*; this is said to show the confidence of the Gauls in Hannibal's success; they acted as if he were already in their country. These tribes had been in correspondence with Hannibal, and were ready to join him, as soon as he should appear in Cisalpine Gaul. The Boii had been subdued by the Romans in 224 B. C., and the Insubrians in 222; see above, n. in c. 16.

30. *Nuper...Placentiam Cremonamque*. The year before, 219, these two colonies had been founded, each consisting of 6,000 men. *Placentiam* and *Cremonam*, acc. of place limiting *deductas*. The English expression, to plant a colony in some place, is in Latin = to lead a colony from (Rome) to some place, *deducere coloniam aliquo*.

35. *Triumviri*; i. e., *ad colonos deducendos*. When a colony was to be founded, persons were appointed and sent out, generally three, as commissioners, to fix the quantity of land that was to be assigned to each colonist.

36. *Mutinam*; the modern Modena. *Confugerint*; for the tense, see note on *ausi sint*, I. 3.

127 4. *Legati*; the doubt is whether, as according to some accounts, the land commissioners were assailed and injured, or, as according to other accounts, ambassadors sent by the senate to enter complaints against the Gauls.

8. *Simulari...agi*; literally, it began to be pretended to be nego-

tiated concerning peace; i. e., *a pretended negotiation for peace was commenced.* PAGE
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12. Eos dimissuros. *Eos*, referring to the Romans, is the object of *dimissuros*, and *se*, referring to the Gauls, must be supplied as the subject.

14. Manlius; the sending of Manlius to Gaul has been mentioned above, in c. 17.

15. Dneit; probably from Ariminum, and along the road afterward called the Via Æmilia.

16. Plerisque; referring to the places; abl. abs., and explaining the preceding words; *as the places were mostly unsettled.*

27. Tannetum; between Parma and Mutina, but at a considerable distance from the Po.

28. Contendere. Perfect tense, as *ademere* in the preceding sentence. Fabri refers to other passages in which Livy uses this form of the perf., when it cannot be distinguished from the present infinitive, and might therefore be considered the historical infinitive. Thus below, c. 33, *ut—videre*. Also III. 43; VI. 8; XXIV. 7.—*Ad tempus*; *for the time*; only temporarily.

29. Fluminis; i. e., brought down by the river; *by the river supplies.*

29. Brixianorum; see Geogr. Index.

XXVI–XXVIII. *The prætor Atilius joins Manlius with a reinforcement.—Scipio arrives at Marseilles.—Hannibal arrives at the Rhone, and crosses it.*

33. Gallico; sc. *bello*.

35. Novo a consule; the consul had probably made this levy for Spain.

36. Qui; refers back to Atilius.

3. Longis navibus. On *longæ naves*, see note above, c. 17; for the omission of *cum*, see H. 414, 7, and the remark. 128

7. Queque; i. e., that he had not only crossed the Pyrenees, but *that he was meditating the passage of the Rhone also.*

10. Interim; i. e., this was only an *interim* movement before he had come to a fixed conclusion about his plans. The conclusion which he reached will be mentioned below, in c. 29.

13. Volcarum; see Geogr. Index.

15. Citeriore; relatively to Hannibal, and so the western or right bank.

18. Et eorum ipsorum, quos. *Eorum ips.* refers to the Volcæ, and the genitive depends upon *quos*. As if it were written (the relative pre-

PAGE ceding the demonstrative, as often in Livy) thus : et quos eorum ipsorum
128 sedes, etc., and also those of (the Volcæ) themselves, whom, etc.

19. *Simul pellicit... simul et ipsi... cupiebant.* The clauses of the sentence do not exactly agree together. We should rather expect an arrangement like this : *Ceteri accolæ—ipsorum—simul ab Hannibale pelliciebantur—simul et ipsi—cupiebant.*—Fabri.

26. *Alveos* ; the object of *faciebant*, and *nihil* in the following line is the object of *curantes* ; *raptim* qualifies *faciebant*.

32. *Viri* ; in opposition to *equites*, this word refers here to the infantry. With *averteret* Hannibal is to be supplied as subject.

34. *Adverso flumine* ; literally, the stream being turned towards, i. e., up the stream. So often *adversa ripa*.

37. *Ad id* ; i. e., for that purpose, the carrying out of the orders just mentioned.

129 1. *Supra* ; used adverbially, above. *Insulæ*, in the *dat.*, limits *circum-fusum*, and *latiorem* sc. *esse* is a predicate, followed by a second one in *ostendere* ; that, about five-and-twenty miles above from that place (i. e., where they then were), the river, which flowed around a small island, was broader, where it was divided, and that on that account it offered a passage by a less deep channel.

6. *Cætris* ; in *dat.*, limits *incubantes*, and *superpositis* is added relatively to the *utres*. They rested upon the bucklers, which were placed over the inflated bags of skin.

11. *Prodito* ; this is the reading of the MSS., but is an unusual word, whether taken with *fumo* or with *loco* ; if with *fumo*, *prodere fumum*, literally to give forth, to raise, a smoke, with the idea, as Fabri suggests, that they caused it so to arise, that it might be seen from a distance. Alschevski takes *prodito* with *loco* in the sense of *edito*, high, but is it ever used in that sense ? Weissenborn conjectures *prædicto*, and joins it with *fumo*, and quotes Polybius, c. 43, 6, τῇ καπνῇ κατὰ τὸ συντεταγμένον. Madvig conjectures *edito*.—With *transisse* supply *se*.

14. *Equites fere*, etc. *Agmen* is the subject of *præbebat* ; *equites* is the object of *transmittens*, and *nantes* agrees with *equos*. *Propter* means near. *Fere propter—nantes* is said in anticipation of the next sentence, *equorum—trahebantur*, and the former words are fully explained by these latter. The *naves*, the vessels of larger size, were used for the cavalry ; the *lintres*, for the infantry. Alschevski reads *eques*, etc., from the older MSS. ; Heerwagen, Madvig, and Weissenborn read, by conjecture, *Jam paratas—lintres, eques—naves. Navium—præbebat*. The order of the words is as follows : *Navium agmen equites, ad excipiendum adversi fluminis impetum, parte superiore fere propter equos nantes transmittens, tranquillitatem lintribus infra trajicientibus præbebat*.

17. *Nantes* ; agrees with *pars*. H. 438, 6.

25. **Et qui...et qui**; the first *qui* refers to *nautarum et militum*, the second to *militum*; both of those *who*, etc., and of those *who*, etc. PAGE 129

29. **Anceps**; *double*; and this is explained by the next following two clauses, *et—evadente*, and *et—acie*.

31. **Utroque**; i. e., *in utramque partem*; the expression refers to *anceps*, and what follows it. *Facere vim*, to make force = to force their way.

36. **Varia consilia**; *various plans*; in the line following, the participle is used, *variata*, *varied*; i. e., *the record of the transaction has been variously given*.

2. **Nantem**; the use of *nantem* without a conjunction to connect it with *refugientem* makes a harsh construction. Madvig brackets the word as spurious, and Weissenborn reads *inde nantem*. 130

3. **Ut...destitueret**. The subjunctive with *ut quemque* expresses the repetition of the action; H. 486, III. 5. In translation, begin with the words *impetu—rapiente*; *the force itself of the stream carrying each one to the other bank, just as the ground deserted him, though he feared the deep water*.

6. **Ante rem**; before the thing, *before the event*; *acta re*, the thing being done, i. e., *after the event*. *Ad fidem pronius*, more inclined to belief, *more credible*.

9. **Secunda aqua**; may be translated *down the stream*.

13. **Et, quum...acti, etc.** *Ut quum* is the reading of the MSS. Alschefski reads *et quum*; Madvig reads *tum*, and Weissenborn puts *ut quum* in brackets. With the reading here given *essent* is to be supplied with *acti*. *And, when the elephants had been driven along the firm raft, etc., as soon as they passed over, etc.*

17. **Actuariis**. The *naves actuarie* (from *agere*) were vessels worked with oars, and also with sails, and used for all purposes requiring expedition; *transports*.

19. **Donec...agerentur**; *as long as they were driven*; the subjunctive, because the clause also expresses *why* the elephants had no fear; so *dum—curaretur*, above, c. 8, where see note. H. 522, II. 2.

20. **Ceteris**; neuter, corresponding to *cetera* of the nom., *from the rest*.

22. **Donec...fecisset**. This subjunctive is different from the one just above, with the same particle; *donec* here means *until*, and yet there is in it no accessory notion of cause or design. The rule, as given by Hand, Turs. II., p. 296, is as follows: Of a past action the *perfect* tense is used in the indicative; but the *imperfect* and *pluperfect*, when there is an idea of a limit [*“ubi intelligitur finis (usque eo)”*], in the subjunctive. So also Madvig, § 360.—*Circumspectantibus* is in the dative case.

PAGE XXIX. *The encounter of a troop of Hannibal's Numidian*
 130 *horse with the reconnoitring party of Roman cavalry*
sent by Scipio from the mouth of the Rhone.

27. *Dum trajiciantur.* See note on *dum parant*, above, c. 7. Here the historic present is used in the subordinate clause, though the leading verb *miserat* is in the pluperfect.

30. *Ut...dictum est*; above, in c. 26.

32. *Quam pro numero*; *than* was in proportion to the number. See H. 417, 6.

34. *Fugaque et pavor.* The force of the *que* is such as to express the thought, that it was *only* the flight and panic on the part of the Numidians that gave the victory to the Romans, considering the exhaustion of the latter.

131 1. *Summæ rerum*; = *universo bello*, to the war on the whole, in distinction from single battles. So in III. 61, *summam belli*, and XXX. 3, *Summam rerum bellique*.

4. *Nec Scipioni stare sententia*; by the expression, an opinion cannot stand to any one, is meant that he *cannot come to any settled opinion*; *neither could Scipio come to any settled opinion except that*, etc. *Nec* = *et non*, corresponds to *et Hannibalem*, etc.

7. *Cum eo*; sc. *exercitu*, which, in translation, must be supplied from the relative clause. In the Latin, *primus exercitus* gets more emphasis by being taken into the relative clause.

10. *Integro bello*; *with the power of the war entire*; the expression is explained by the next following words, *nusquam—viribus*, *their forces nowhere beforehand impaired*.

12. *Timebat quidem*; *timere* expresses fear as a moral feeling, resulting from weakness, timidity; *metuere*, fear as an intellectual notion, as the anticipation of danger, and proceeding from reflection; *feared indeed the enemy*, etc.; *but dreaded more the immense march*, etc.

XXX. *Hannibal addresses his soldiers, just before proceeding on the march up the Rhone, and to the Alps.*

17. *Mirari*, etc.; from this point the speech is reported in *oratio obliqua*, the whole depending upon some word of saying, e. g., *dixit*.

19. *Stipendia*; in a military sense, first the pay of the soldiers, then the service or the *campaigns* for which such pay is given; here the latter.

21. *Duo...maria*; the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. *Carthaginiensium* is pred. genitive.

23. *Dedi postularet*; the acc. with infin. with *postularet*, though verbs of demanding generally take the subjunctive with *ut* or *ne*. H. 558, VI.

3.—The subject of *dedi* is found in the antecedent part of *quicumque*; PAGE
that whoever had besieged Saguntum should be delivered up to them. 131

28. *Saltum*; the object of *cernant*, and also, in the next line, *Rhodanum*.

31. *Habeant*; *postquam* to be construed with this word as well as with *cernant* above.

32. *Italiae sit*; belonged to Italy. *Italiae*, pred. genitive. *Subsistere*, one of the principal verbs in the *oratio obliqua*; *at the enemy's very gates, wearied out, they stopped short.*

33. *Quid Alpes, etc.* *Credentes* agrees with the subject of *subsistere*, and the question *quid*, etc., depends upon *credentes*; *believing the Alps to be—what else than mountain heights?* The question-form at once carries the idea that they must nevertheless believe that the Alps, high as they might be, were only mountains, after all.

34. *Fingerent, etc.*; *they might suppose them to be higher than the Apennines*; the imperf. subjunctive corresponding to the imperative, *fingite*, of the *oratio recta*, or to the subjunctive with imperative force, *fingatis*.

37. *Pervias paucis esse—et exercitibus?* *that they were passable by the few—and by armies?* i. e., and not passable by the many? This is the emended reading of Alschefski, from the MSS. reading, *pervias paucis esse exercitibus*. The reading *exercitibus invias* is found in the margin of one MS. Madvig and Weissenborn both read (by conjecture) *pervias fauces esse exercitibus*.

2. *Ne majores, etc.*; *that their ancestors indeed were not natives, but* 132
that, as foreigners, as settlers of Italy, they had often safely crossed, etc.

11. *Quæ...desperet.* The question is only on this part of the sentence; that the Gauls had formerly taken *those places—which should the Carthage despair of being able to reach?*

12. *Cederent*; the imperf. subjunctive, because the idea of such yielding is not for a moment to be admitted; but *sperent*, in the present, because the hope is to be entertained and also realized.

XXXI-XXXVII. *Hannibal's march northward through Gaul, and over the Alps into Italy.*

XXXI. *The march to the Insula, and then (according to Livy's view of the route) to the river Druentia.*

17. *Non quia...esset*; the subjunctive, because the reason is given as Hannibal's, not the writer's. The more direct route from his present position would have been by the Maritime Alps.

21. *Quartis castris*; at the fourth camp, i. e., *after a four days' march*; from Roquemaure, at the passage of the Rhone to the Insula, a

PAGE distance of seventy-five miles. The country called Insula, the Island,
132 also in Polybius *νήσος*, is explained sufficiently in the next sentence.

22. *Ex diversis Alpibus.* The Isara, modern Isère, flows from the Alpes Graiæ, the modern Little St. Bernard; the Rhone flows from the St. Gothard, the ancient Mons Adula, which was a part of the Alpes Rhæticiæ.

23. *Mediis campis Insulæ.* *Insulæ*, dat., by attraction to *campis*. Polybius compares the Insula with the Delta of Egypt, remarking, however, that one of the sides of the Delta is formed by the sea, and that the third side of the Insula is closed by high mountains.—*Prope*; *near by*; because, according to Livy, Hannibal does not cross the Isara, and enter the Insula, the territory of the Allobroges.

26. *Discors*; agrees with a pronoun, referring to *gens*.

29. *Pellebatur*; the imperfect, because the contest was not yet decided.

35. *Quum jam Alpes peteret . . . ad Druentiam . . . pervenit.* It is at this point of the narrative that Livy's view of Hannibal's route deviates from that of Polybius, according to whom, as made clear by the investigations of Melville, De Luc, and especially Wickham and Cramer, Hannibal marched ten days through the Insula, then turned eastward to the Mont du Chat, then over that mountain, and southward to the Isara, and up that river to the Little St. Bernard, and crossed the Alps by that pass. On the contrary, it is Livy's view, which he states directly in c. 38, that Hannibal went up the valley of the Druentia, and crossed the Alps by the Cottian pass, the modern Mt. Genève. In accordance with this view, he describes in general, in this sentence, that part of the route which was between the Rhone and the Druentia.—*Non recta regione.* At what point Hannibal turned from the Rhone to march towards the Alps, Livy does not state; but we may infer that he supposed him to go perhaps not farther up the Rhone than to the river Drome, and certainly not farther than Valence. From either of these points, to go *by a direct route* (*recta regione*) to the Alps (*quum—Alpes peteret*) would be to go due east; but *he turned to the left into the country of the Tricastini*, i. e., to the north of east. The Tricastini "lived," according to the geographer Manert, "east of Valence, and towards Grenoble." They were separated from the Allobroges by the Isara; and the Segovellauni lived between them and the Rhone.—*Inde per extremam—Tricorios.* The Vocontii and the Tricorii lived south and east of the Tricastini; thus, according to Livy, Hannibal turned from the Tricastini southward, and skirted the northeastern frontier of the Vocontii (*per extremam oram V. agri*), then easterly to the country of the Tricorii, and up the valley of the Drac to the river Druentia.

133 2. *Et ipse Alpinus annis*; *itself also an Alpine river*; i. e., as well as the Isara it had its rise in the Cottian Alps.

6. Vada...gurgites; to be joined with *volvens*, just as *saxa*, but in a little different sense; as to roll up shoals and eddies means to make new shoals and eddies by rolling up the sand. PAGE 133

10. Cetera; acc. pl. with *super*.

XXXII. *The consul Scipio sends his brother Cnæus to Spain, and himself goes back to Genoa, in order to defend Italy.—Hannibal reaches the first Alpine chain, and gains the summit by night.*

15. Tantum; i. e., so far northward, up the Rhone. Compare what Livy has narrated in c. 26, and at the beginning of c. 29.

17. Ita; i. e., by giving up the pursuit, and going back to his ships. *Ita* qualifies *occursurus*.

26. Campestri...itinere. If we take Livy's view of the route, it is difficult to locate *this march across a level country*, as the way along the Druentia to the Alps lies mostly through narrow valleys shut in by steep cliffs. On the other hand, if we take the view of Polybius, we find the *campestre iter* from Vienne across the modern Dauphiné to the Mont du Chat.

28. In majus...ferri; literally, to be carried into something greater than the truth; i. e., to be exaggerated.

31. Pecora jumentaque; the flocks and the beasts of burden; *pecora*, smaller cattle, as sheep and goats; *jumenta*, the larger, as horses and mules. *Torrída*, which generally expresses the effect of extreme heat, here is used of the cold, because it produces a similar effect; *shrivelled*. *Frigus* the generic word for cold; *gelu* means ice-cold, *frost*.

34. Erigentibus...clivos. *Erigentibus* is dat., limiting *apparuerunt*; literally, to those leading up, etc.; *as they were marching up the first hills*. Here, too, in endeavoring to follow Livy's view, we are at a loss to discover what *clivi* these were; but in Polybius it is undoubtedly the Mont du Chat which is meant.

2. Ea; an adverbial abl., perhaps originally *ea parte*, and may be translated *there*. 134

3. Confragosa omnia præruptaque; places all craggy and steep; the *omnia* is emphatic, expressing that there was nothing there but such places.

8. Ut...vim...facturus; as if he intended openly and by daytime to force his way through the narrow pass.

9. Die...consumpto; abl. abs., the day being spent; *then having spent the day in pretending something different from that which was preparing*.

12. Laxatas; this word means that the guards were not set in close

PAGE succession, but at wide intervals, *thinned out*. So also *laxare ordines*, or
 134 *manipulos*, when the companies in an army are stretched out so as to make thin ranks.

15. *Quoque*; abl. of *quisque*.—*Angustias evadit*; the compound verb is used transitively, and has the acc. as an object, though the preposition alone would govern only an abl.; just as our word *evade* is used, though in a different sense from *evadere* here; *gets out of the narrow pass*.

XXXIII. *In the descent from the summit, which he had gained, Hannibal suffers serious losses, partly through the difficulties of the road, and partly from the assaults of the mountaineers.*

19. *Ex castellis*; *ex* relates to *dato*; *on a signal being given from their strongholds*.

21. *Arce*; i. e., the summit which they had used as a *citadel*.

25. *Misceri agmen*; the object, together with *trepidationem*, of *videre*; *and that the army was disturbed*.

27. *Perversis...decurrunt*. *Rupibus* depends upon *decurrunt*, and *perversis* may be translated *irregular*. *Juxta* is used adverbially, limiting *assueti*; *alike*.—*Invia* and *devia* are in the acc., limiting *assueti*; an unusual construction; but in XXXVIII. 17, Livy uses *assuescere* with the genitive; *they run down the irregular cliffs, accustomed alike to places impassable and devious*.

29. *Sibi...tendente*; *quoque*, abl. of *quisque*, and *sibi* in the *dativus commodi*, limiting *tendente*; *each one striving for himself*.

36. *Multosque, etc.* The sentence illustrates, in detail, the *strages* which had just been mentioned, in respect both to *homines* and to *sarcinæ*. The *multos*, as opposed to *armatos*, may refer to the drivers of the *jumenta*.

135 1. *Ruinæ maxime modo*; very much after the manner, i. e., *just like the fall of a great building*. The comparison seems to be made in reference to the crash as the beasts were thrown down to the steep.

5. *Exutum*; = *si exutus esset*, the apodosis being implied in *incolumem*; *that there was danger of his bringing over* (literally, of having brought) *his army, to no purpose uninjured if deprived of the baggage*.—*Traduxisset* is here used instead of *traducturus fuerit*, as the subjunctive of the fut. perf. is usually expressed by the fut. act. part. with the perf. subs. See note on *facturus fuerit*, II. 1.

12. *Ejus regionis*. It is difficult, if we follow Livy's view of the route, to locate this *region*; but, according to that of Polybius, it is the valley extending from the Mont du Chat and the Lake Bourget to the Isère at Montmeillan.

13. Captivo; *with what had been taken*; with reference to provisions. PAGE
135
Some editors supply *cibo*.

14. Montanis; the preposition *a* is omitted, partly because of *loco* which follows, and partly because *percussis* contains the chief idea. *Primo* is adverbial; *from the first*.

XXXIV. *The perils encountered in the high Alps by the treacherous assaults of the mountaineers.*

17. Ut inter montanos. *Ut* has here a limiting force; see note, I. 57, *ut in ea*, etc.; literally, as (it could be) among mountaineers. *Frequens* is generally used of places, and here *populus*, like the Gr. *δῆμος*, suggests rather the district which was cultivated (*cultores*) than the people who cultivated it; it is what we might call a *populous farming country, considering that it was a mountainous one*.

20. Exemplo; appositive to *malis*.

21. Amicitiam . . vim; both these words are objects of *experiri*.

23. Acciperet; imperf. subj., because in the *oratio obliqua*, corresponding to *accipe* or *accipias* in the *recta*.

27. Composito agmine; adversative to *nequaquam*—*pacatos*, though the *sed* is not expressed; *follows their guides, by no means as among peaceful people, but with his army regularly formed*. *Ut* is elliptical, sc. *fieri solet*, or some similar expression.

30. In angustiore[m] viam; this narrow road, with precipitous cliffs on the mountain side, and the valley and stream on the other side, must be sought, in Livy's view of the route, between Briancon, the ancient Brigantio, and the Cottian Alps; but in that of Polybius, between Scez and the Graian.

36. Extrema agminis; a poetic partitive construction, and = *extremum agmen*, the rear of the army; the rear had thus been made strong (*firmata*) by the infantry, as described just above in I. 29.—*Accipienda fuerit*; the participle in *dus* expresses, as usual, necessity, and the two words together are equivalent to a pluperf. subjunctive, just in the same way as if it were *accipienda* with the *indic. perf. fuit*, the *fuerit* being required by *quin*; *would necessarily have been received*. See Z., § 499.

37. Tunc quoque; even then, i. e., *even as it was*, with the infantry in the rear.

2. Non; qualifies *reliquerat*, and *ut—ita* = *though—yet*. He hesitated 136
to send the infantry down, because they would be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, with no force to protect them.

5. Hannibali; dative for abl. with preposition. H. 388, II. 3, and note on *quaerentibus*, I. 23.

XXXV. *Hannibal reaches the summit of the Alps.*

12. *Daret...fecissent*; subjunctive of repeated action. See H. 486, 5.

13. *Progressi morative*; i. e., the Carthaginians; at times a party of soldiers would get in advance of the main army, or would linger behind.

15. *Incederent*; another subj. of repeated action.

16. *Insuetis...erat*; *Insuetis*, dat. of possessor, and agrees with a pronoun understood, referring to *hostibus*; *adeundi* limits *metus*, because as they were unaccustomed (to them), they feared to come near them.

18. *In jugum Alpium*; according to Livy, the Cottian Alp, or Mont Genève; according to Polybius, the Little St. Bernard, or the ancient Graian Alp. Polybius also mentions, c. 53, the arrival at the summit on the ninth day, that is, from the Mont du Chat; but in Livy it is quite uncertain from what place the nine days' journey begins.

19. *Quos...faciebant*. *Quos* is the object of *faciebant*; *iis* dat. of possessor; *esset*, the subj. of repeated action (H. 486, 5); *valles* the subject of *faciebant*; which the treachery of the guides occasioned, or, where these were not trusted, the rash entrance of the valleys on the part of those who guessed at the route.

25. *Occidente...Vergiliarum*; as the constellation of the *Vergiliæ* was now setting; *Vergiliæ* is the Latin name for the constellation called by the Greeks *Pleiades*; and these words are here used to explain *nivis casus*, as the setting of this constellation marked the beginning of winter in the high Alps. Pliny (2, 47, 125) mentions the time for its setting as the III. *Idus Novembres*, or the 26th October, and in another passage (18, 25, 122) he defines the setting by the word *matutinus*, or what is called the *heliacal* setting, i. e., just before the rising of the sun. But the words *jam occidente, now setting*, may mean only that the time for the setting of the constellation was near; and this too is what Polybius says, c. 54, *διὰ τὸ συνάπτειν τὴν τῆς Πλειάδος δύσιν*. See Mommsen, vol. II. p. 115, note. On the Little St. Bernard snow begins to fall towards the end of September.

30. *Ostentat...campos*. Polybius also speaks of Hannibal pointing out to his soldiers the plains about the Po, and uses the word *ἐνδεικνύμενος*. But much discussion has arisen from these words, as it is certain that no actual sight of the valley of the Po is possible from the pass of the Little St. Bernard, or of the Great St. Bernard, or of Mont Genève. But it seems unnecessary to infer from Polybius, or indeed from Livy, any such ocular view, but only that, as they looked down from some projecting height, Hannibal pointed out where lay Italy and the plains of the Po. Dr. Arnold seems to have given the whole meaning of the passage: "He pointed out the valley beneath, to which the descent seemed the work of a moment." "That valley," said he, "is Italy; it leads us

to the country of our friends the Gauls, and yonder is our way to Rome." PAGE
Hist., vol. II., p. 287.

4. **Nec, qui...occiderent.** *Nec* joins *hære* to *sustinere*; *vestigio*, ab- 137
lative here; often we find *in vestigio*, and sometimes the dat. is used
with *hære*; *que* in *aliquæ* joins *occiderent* to *possent*; nor could those who
had stumbled a little, after they had been thrown down (*afflicti*) keep firmly
on the spot, and so they fell one upon another, both the beasts of burden and
the men.

XXXVI. *The army come to a stand, the mountain-road
having become impassable from the effects of a land-
slide.—A circuit is tried over the snow and ice, but is
found impracticable.*

7. **Ita rectis saxis.** As these words are added by *atque* to *angustiore*
(*rupem*), they seem to be of the nature of an abl. of characteristic, of
rocks so upright; but they may perhaps be taken as in the abl. absolute.
It must be remembered, however, that it is a conjectural reading, as
there is no MS. reading which yields any intelligible sense.—*Ut ægre—*
posset; that with difficulty a light-armed soldier, making the attempt, and
grasping firmly the bushes and stumps, which projected around, could let
himself down.

10. **In pedum...altitudinem**; the place, which was before precipi-
tous, had been made still more so by the land-slide, so that there was a
precipice a thousand feet deep. In Polybius, however, the slide is rep-
resented as having taken place in reference, not to depth, but to length,
so that the road had been carried away to the distance of a stadium and
a half, or about 930 Roman feet; and for this distance there was left no
road at all.

15. **Circumduceret**; the subjunctive expresses necessity; *there seemed
to be no doubt that he would have to lead the army round*, etc.

16. **Ea vero via**; i. e., the way round just suggested in the words
per invia, etc.

17. **Veterem...intactam**; i. e., the snow of former seasons, which
had remained entire, and was now become hardened and solid. These
words, and also especially *glacies*, below, seem to describe a glacier, over
which there lay a fresh snow of moderate depth. *Nam* qualifies formally
the verb *insistebant*, but the substantial reason for the way being *insuper-*
abilis is given in the last part of the sentence, *ut vero*, etc.

18. **Molli...peraltæ**; sc. *nivæ*; *the feet of those who were walking trod
with ease upon the soft and not very deep snow.*

20. **Per nudam, etc.** *Infra* is used like an adjective or a participle;
upon the bare ice lying below. Tabem is sufficiently explained by the

PAGE words preceding and following it; it is what we call in New England *slosh*,
 137 or, as it is sometimes written, *slush*, and, in the absence of a better word, this may perhaps be allowed.

21. *Ut a lubrica...vestigium*; literally, as from the slippery ice not allowing a firm step. But the *ut* is here elliptical (see note above, c. 7, on *ut-loco*); and the preposition gives, with what follows it, the cause for the *tetra luctatio*; so in XXXIII. 14, *ut fit ab nimia fiducia*. With some impersonal verb supplied with *ut*, e. g., *fit* or *necesse fuit*, and, the above force of *a* borne in mind, the literal translation given above is equivalent to this: *as might be supposed, because the slippery ice did not allow a firm step*. But Weissenborn reads from Sauppe's conjecture, *via lubrica*, and Madvig puts *ut a* in brackets.

22. *Pede se fallente*; the foot deceiving itself, i. e., making a misstep; *pede* may depend upon *a*; or may be taken as abl. abs. This is the reading of all the MSS., and was restored by Alschevski from the conjecture of Drakenborch *pedes fallente*; undoubtedly *pedes fallente* (*glacie*) is better Latin than *pede se fallente*, and yet Livy seems to have written the latter.—*Citius*; i. e., *sooner on a declivity* than on a level place.

24. *Ipsis adminiculis*; *these props themselves*; i. e., the hands and knees (*adminiculum*, indeed, is derived from *manus*); *iterum* is said because first the feet had slipped, and brought them down, and now it is the sliding forward of the hands and the knees that causes the fall.

26. *Tantum*; *only*; it belongs to *levi-glacie*; their feet, hands, and knees, were of no avail, nor were there any external means of help, so that there was nothing but the ice and snow; and on these *they kept rolling about*.

28. *Tamen, etc.*; *yet sometimes also the beasts of burden when treading upon the lowest snow, etc.*; *tamen* is said in relation to the preceding words in *levi tantum*, etc. The *infima nix* is the same as above, l. 17, *veterem nivem*, where see note.—*Jactandis...ungulis*; these words limit *perfringeabant*; they fall, and then strike their hoofs into the hardened snow *in struggling to get up* (*connitendo*), and so break quite through (*penitus*) the ice, and thus are caught as it were in a trap.

XXXVII. *The road is made passable on the mountain side, and on it the army descend to the plains of Italy.*

35. *Ad rupem muniendam*; i. e., *ad viam per rupem muniendam*, to make a road over the cliff. *Ad* relates to *ducti*, which is a participle, *militēs* being the subject of *faciunt*.

37. *Dejectis detruncatisque*. The trees are first *felled*, and then the branches *lopped off*.

3. Infuso aceto. This method of softening the rocks is mentioned PAGE
also by other writers; Appian, Hannibal, 4; Juvenal, 10, 153; and 138
Pliny, Hist. Nat., 23; but Polybius makes no mention of Hannibal's resorting to such an expedient. It seems improbable that Hannibal had such a supply of vinegar in his commissary stores, or, if he had, it would have had no such effect upon the primitive rock as is here ascribed to it.

4. Aufractibus; derived from *frango*, and meaning *windings* (or zig-zags), which served to break the descent, and so make it easier.

6. Quadriduum. Polybius mentions that in one day the road was made practicable for the cavalry and the beasts of burden; but that a three days' work was necessary to make a passage for the elephants, as the road had to be wider and more solid.

8. Inferiora; nom.; *the lower parts*, i. e., of the mountains

XXXVIII. *The historian's views on the time spent in the march to Italy, the number of Hannibal's troops, and the place where the Alps were crossed.*

15. Quinto...nova; briefly said for *quinto mense postquam a Carthagine discesserat*. Hand, Turs. I., p. 46. Fabri. The time is from May to October; see note, c. 36, on *occidente*, etc.

16. Quinto decimo die. Yet Livy makes eighteen in all; nine in reaching the summit, c. 35; two on the summit, c. 35; four in getting through the rock, c. 37; three of rest, c. 37; and if we add, as seems necessary, one for the attempted march round through the snow, c. 35, and another for the descent after the rest, we shall have twenty. Perhaps the words *ut—auctores sunt* are to be taken only with the words that follow; and Polybius, c. 56, gives the number fifteen.

19. Qui minimum, etc. This number is given by Polybius in c. 56.

20. L. Cincius Alimentus. A Roman annalist; he was prætor 211 B. C., and, in 208, pro-prætor in Sicily. He wrote a history of Rome from its foundation down to his own time, only fragments of which are extant.

22. Confunderet numerum. The confusion which is here ascribed to Cincius consists in his reckoning the Gauls and Ligurians among the forces brought over the Alps, instead of saying—which, as Livy states, is *more probable*—that they joined Hannibal after he had reached Italy.

25. Audisse; sc. *se*, referring to Cincius. The following clause, *postquam—transierat*, modifies *amisisse*; *that he heard from Hannibal himself, that, after he crossed the Rhone, he lost*, etc.

26. Triginta sex millia...amisisse. Hannibal crossed the Ebro with 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, Polybius, 3, 35; Liv. XXI. 23; on reaching the Pyrenees he had 50,000 foot and 9,000 horse, Polyb. ib.; after

PAGE the passage of the Rhone, the army numbered 38,000 foot and 8,000
138 horse, Polyb. 3, 60: it numbered 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse on reaching Italy. Thus the entire loss from the Pyrenees to Italy was 33,000; a number which differs so little from that reported in this passage, on the authority of Cinc. Alimentus, that it has been supposed, and with reason, that Livy may have misunderstood his author, and that the words *triginta sex m.* refer to the same time as that mentioned by Polybius, viz., from the passage of the Pyrenees (not that of the Rhone) to the arrival in Italy.

28. E Taurinis...constet. This reading from Alschevski's smaller edition is here retained, as yielding the best sense, and also as sustained as well by MS. authority as any other. Weissenborn reads (with a period after *amisisse*) *Taurini Galliae—degresso. Id quum*, etc. Madvig has the same reading and punctuation as Weissenborn, except that he inserts *Semigalli* after *Taurini*. The Taurini lived between the Cottian Alp and the Upper Po; their chief city Augusta Taurinorum, the modern Turin.

29. Inter omnes constet. Yet Polybius, 3, 56, distinctly states that "Hannibal, having spent fifteen days in crossing the Alps, descended into the plains, that are near the Po, and the territory of the Insubrians;" and only in a later chapter (60) does he mention Hannibal's reaching the Taurini, and taking their chief city.

30. Vulgo credere; *that they generally believe;* the subject of *credere* a pronoun to be supplied; the active voice is here used (*credere*) instead of the passive (*creditum esse*).

31. Pœnino; the abl. is used without a preposition, to express the local relation; *by the Pœnine*. So also Livy often uses the abl. of common nouns; as *medio sinu*, X. 2; *agro*, XXVI. 11; *ripa fluminis*, XXVII. 47. The *mons Pœninus* is north of the *Alpes Graiæ*, and is the modern Great St. Bernard.—*Inde*; i. e., from *Pœnus*, as if it had its name from the name of the Carthaginians.

32. Coelium. L. Coelius Antipater, a Roman jurist and historian, a contemporary of C. Gracchus (about 125 B. C.). He wrote a history of the Second Punic War. He seems to have followed the same authorities, and to have had the same opinion of Hannibal's passage, as Polybius; for the *Cremonis jugum* is the modern *Cramont*, and was a part of the Alps Graiæ, extending from the Little St. Bernard to Mt. Blanc. Thus the authority of Coelius is, by Livy's own showing, in favor of the Little St. Bernard, as the pass crossed by Hannibal.

34. Salassos...Gallos. The Salassi lived in the region extending from the Graian Alp to the river Duria, now Doria Baltea; and the Libui lived to the south of them. The Libui, and probably also the Salassi, were a branch of the Insubres.

35. Utique...ferunt; *certainly* (those) *which* lead to the *Pœnine*. PAGE
Livy mentions (V. 35) the Pœnine as a pass crossed by Gauls; but it 138
was difficult of passage in Cæsar's time (see B. G., 3, 1); and a road
was not made over it till the time of Augustus.

37. Si...id movet; the *id* looks forward to *nomen inditum*; *if per-*
haps that (consideration) *influences any one*; i. e., the name *Pœninus*, as
if derived from *Pœnus*, because of the passage of it by the *Pœni*.

1. Seduni Veragri; Alpine tribes living on the Rhone, between Lake 139
Lemannus (Geneva) and the Pœnine Alps, in what is now the Swiss canton
Valais, Germ. Wallis. The capital of the Seduni was *Sedunum*, Sion;
and of the Veragri, *Octodurus*, Martigny.

2. Ab eo; *ab* relates to *inditum*; *but* (given) *from him, whom*, etc.

XXXIX. *Hannibal moves eastward from the territory of
the Taurini towards the Ticinus, and Scipio proceeds
from Pisa to the Po, crosses that river, and moves also
towards the Ticinus.*

4. Taurinis; dat. for abl. with preposition. H. 388, II.

6. Alteri; in the sense of *alterutri*; *to either party*.

11. Pisas. Scipio had probably landed at Genoa, in fulfilment of the
intention mentioned above in c. 32.—*Manlio.* Manlius had been sta-
tioned in Gaul, as mentioned above in c. 17, and c. 25.

15. Unam urbem; the place afterwards known as Augusta Taurino-
rum, the modern Turin.

16. Volentes. This reading is here adopted instead of *volentis*; but
even with the reading *volentis*, the word might be taken as a form of the
nom. plural.

21. Præsentem; *se* must be supplied, referring to Hannibal.

26. Ipso; this pronoun is added to *eo*, for the sake of emphasis; *on*
that very account, because, etc. Why is *quod* used with the indicative
*fuera*t, and just before with the subjunctive, *lectus esset*?

31. Occupavit...trajicere; i. e., *prior trajecit*; *crossed—first*. See
note on *occupabant*, I. 14.

XL. *The speech of Scipio to his army, before the battle
of the Ticinus.*

1. Vieissent; the subjunctive by attraction, and also because it rep- 140
resents the view of the *equites* themselves; but, below, *habui* in the indica-
tive, because it simply expresses the fact. See n. above, c. 1, on *gessere*.

3. Cedentis; agrees with *hostis* understood, or *ejus* referring to *hostis*;
instead of a victory, a confession of one, by his retiring and declining a
contest.

PAGE 4. **Nunc, quia, etc.** *Nunc* belongs to the principal verb, *facienda*
140 *sunt, quia* to *gerit* and to *obtuli*.

6. **Meis auspiciis**; he says *mine*, because the right of the auspices belonged to the commander-in-chief, and Cn. Scipio was subordinate in rank to Cornelius.

11. **Cum iis**. See n. above, c. 18, on *nobis*, etc.

19. **Pæne**; this word is of doubtful authority; and it certainly seems out of place, after the mention of *duabus partibus*.

20. **At enim**. See above, n. c. 18, on *at enim eo federe*, etc.

XLI. *Scipio's speech completed.*

34. **Vestri**; on the number, see H. 563, 4.

141 6. **Qua parte**; *qua* refers to what is contained in *equestri*, as if it were *equitum prælio*; in the battle of cavalry, with which part of my forces, etc.

11. **Utrum quum, etc.** The sentence is meant to explain the assertion in *obvius fui*, and to show that the meeting was not accidental. *Quum declinarem* belongs to the first part of the question, and with *incidisse* and *occurrere* a pronoun is to be supplied, referring to *hosti*, in *eum* for the former, *ei* for the latter.

14. **Viginti**; a round number for the duration of the First Punic War.

15. **Ægates**; in allusion to the naval battle of the Ægatian islands, the last in the First Punic War.

16. **Duodevicens**; distributive, *eighteen denarii each*; the price paid for each soldier of the Carthaginian garrison, at the evacuation of Eryx.

18. **Vectigalis stipendiariusque**. *Vectigalis*, a man or a people, who pay taxes according to the census and to the produce of the year; *stipendiarius*, one required to pay a certain tribute (here a war contribution), independently of any such circumstances. *Vectigalia* is the general word for all provincial taxes. The two words together, here imply a relation of entire dependence; hence *servus* is added.

19. **Quem...agitare...respiceret**; i. e., *qui—eum agitare—respic*. *Agitare* here means to *drive to desperation*, to *drive mad*. It is frequently used in this sense, as in I. 48, *agitantibus furiis*; XXXIV. 18, *consulem—cura agitare*. Also Curtius, 3, 6, *curis agitabant*; 6, 38, *agitant eos furia*; Cicero, *Rosc. Amer.*, 24, 67; *ib.*, *In. Pis.*, 20, 46; Tacitus, *Hist.*, II. 23.

30. **Humanorum**; sc. *suppliciorum*.

34. **Tutelæ**; predicate genitive, with *esse* to be supplied; *we considered them as being under our protection*.

142 1. **Esset**; the imperfect tense, because it is a wish not to be fulfilled; H. 488, II. 2.

11. **Fuerit**; perf. subj., corresponding to the fut. perf. of the *oratio recta*; in the *oratio recta* it would read *qualis—fuerit, talis—erit*. PAGE 142

XLII. *Hannibal excites the soldiers for the approaching battle, by combats between several pairs of the captive mountaineers.*

17. **Equis...vellet**; *whether any one would be willing.*

19. **Ad unum omnes**; *all to a man.*

20. **In id**; *for that purpose*; so, too, *in* is used just below *in id certamen*.

22. **Alacer**; agrees with a pronoun understood, referring to *cujusque*.

24. **Ubi...dimicarent**; subj. of repeated action. See H. 486, III. 5.

XLIII. *Speech of Hannibal to his army.*

28. **Quum...dimisisset**. *Sic* modifies *affectos*, *affected thus*, i. e., as just described. *Aliquot—paribus* may be translated, *by the sight of several pairs of combatants*.

35. **Vobis**; dative; see H. 384, II. 1.

37. **Habentibus**. As *vobis* occurs just before in the dative, and also just after (*integris vobis*), it seems best to take *habentibus* in the dative, agreeing with *vobis* understood; with *claudunt* may be supplied either *viam* or *effugium*; *dextra* and *laeva* are in the abl.; *on the right and left two seas close up the way to you, who have, etc.*

9. **Quidquid, etc.**; these words are adversative to what has just been said; as if he had said, but this is not so, for *whatever, etc.* 143

12. **Satis adhuc**; *long enough.*

19. **Emeritis stipendiis**. *Stipendium*, in its military sense, means, first, the pay of soldiers; then, military service, and, in this meaning, generally in the plural; and, finally, military service of a single year, or a campaign. *Emereri*, with *stipendia*, means to serve out, or to complete one's military service; and here *emeritis* is used passively; *emeritis stipendiis*, abl. abs., and meaning, literally, your campaigns served out; *after you have completed your time of service.*

33. **Eundem**; = here to *etiam*, *conqueror too.*

34. **Semestri**; so called in allusion to his year as consul, one half of which had expired; and he is called *desertor*, because he sent his own consular army into Spain, and is now in command of another army.

2. **Ediderim**; the subj. with *qui* after *nemo* as an indefinite antecedent, H. 501, I.; *because there is no one of you, before whose eyes I myself have not often performed some achievement.* So also *possim* is to be explained.

XLIV. *Hannibal's speech completed.*

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10. *Frenatos infrenatosque*; the former the Carthaginian and Spanish horse, the latter the Numidian.

20. *Arbitrii*; pred. genitive.

24. *Ne transferis, etc.* These words are introduced as the orders of the Romans.

26. *Ad Iberum, etc.* The objection of the Carthaginians to the order. (But) *Saguntum* is on the *Ebro*; i. e., it is not on the other side of the *Ebro*.—*Nusquam, etc.*; the still more imperious order of the Romans; *stir from the spot in no direction.*

28. *Et inde cessero.* *Inde* = *ex Hispaniis*; and *cessero* is conditional = *si cessero*.

32. *Timidis*; in the dative, by attraction to *illis*.

1. *Omnibus*; in the dative

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XLV. *The Romans cross the Ticinus, and enter into the territory of the Insubrians.—In anticipation of the battle, Hannibal promises rewards to his troops.*

12. *In...Insubrinum.* The territory of the Insubrians must here be understood as including that of the Libui, as the Insubrians lived mostly east of the Ticinus.—*Victumulis.* Both Strabo and Pliny mention this place as in the district of Vercellæ, the modern Vercelli.

22. *Daturum...operam*; literally, that he would give his attention, i. e., *that he would see to it.*

23. *Secum*; = *cum sua fortuna.* *Mutare* is generally used with the abl. without a preposition. See H. 416, 2.

27. *Precatus*; *est* must be supplied, as *et* follows with *elisit*.

30. *Quisque*; appositive to *omnes*.

31. *Id moræ...rati.* *Id moræ*, sc. *esse ad potiendā sper.*; *that there was only this hinderance*, viz., *quod n. pugn.* Compare above, c. 5, *id morari, etc.*, and on *quod* with *pugnarent, ib., quod interesset*

XLVI. *The battle of the Ticinus.*

37. *Quibus procuratis.* See n. on *prodigia—curarentur*, I. 20. Also Dict. Antiq., *Prodigium*.

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3. *Et ipsi*; *himself also*; i. e., as well as Scipio.

12. *Inter subsidia ad sec. aciem.* The *subsidia* themselves formed the second line, as already mentioned just above. The words *ad sec. ac.* seem to explain *inter subsidia*. The sense is, that the spearmen fled to the second line, to the spaces between the maniples of the reserve. |

13. Quia turbabant, etc.; these words give the reason for *multis* PAGE
labentibus, etc. 146

15. Vidissent; subj. of repeated action.

16. Donec Numidæ... ostenderunt. *Donec* seems to refer to something not directly expressed; as *quæ pugna permansit*.—Fabri.

24. Alius... equitatus = *alia manus*, i. e., *equitatus*, since the *jaculatores* of course did not form part of the cavalry.—Fabri.

28. Malim, etc.; *I would rather believe it to be true*, etc.; Livy naturally prefers the version of the story, which does honor to the Romans.

29. Quod; the object both of *tradidere* and of *obtinuit*.

34. Belle... Romanis; both words, in the dat., limit *aptos*; for the former, see H. 564.

XLVII. The Romans, after the defeat, retreat to Placentia; and Hannibal also crosses the Po, and pitches his camp near Placentia.

3. In citeriore ripa Padi. Many editors omit *Padi*; but even then 147
it is plain from the context that it is the bank of the Po which Livy means. In this respect the account of Livy varies from that of Polybius, who states that the six hundred were taken on the bank of the Ticinus.

5. Tota rate, etc.; these words must precede *ut—erant* in translating. Livy changes from *pons* to *ratīs*, because of course there was no longer a bridge, when the ends of the raft were let go from the banks of the river.

10. Peritis; in the dat. and limiting *fecerint*.

12. Ut... transvexerint. *Ut*, although. See H. 515.

14. Fuerint; potential subj., like *fecerint* above, and expresses the writer's opinion less positively (much like the preceding *verisimile*), in opposition to the statement of Cœlius. As the participle *petenda* expresses necessity, the whole may be translated, *it would have been necessary to seek*, etc.

XLVIII. Scipio encamps on the western bank of the Trebia, and Hannibal on the eastern.—Clastidium is given up to Hannibal.

30. Quemque; this pronoun which usually follows *suus*, here precedes it for the sake of emphasis.

32. Contactosque... rable. *Contactos* means here touched in a bad sense; the Gauls are thought of as defiled by contact with the crime.

37. Minus... fefellit; *escaped notice less*. On *fallere* in this sense, see n., V. 47.

4. Digno; used absolutely; but the connection easily supplies *mora* as 148
the word depending upon it. *With no adequate recompense for their delay*.

- PAGE 7. *Citra flumen*; i. e., on the eastern bank.
- 148 8. *Vulneris in via jactanti*. It has been questioned whether *via jactans* be good Latin; and *jactati* (agreeing with *vuln.*) has been conjectured, and by some editors adopted. But the above is the reading of the MSS. *Via jactans* is a rough, jolting road.
11. *Nec...inopia*. *Nec* = *et non*; and when Hannibal had posted himself not far from thence. *Quantum—tantum*, literally, as much—so much, may be rendered *no more—than*; *no more elated by the victory of the cavalry, than he was anxious on account of the scarcity which, etc.*
15. *Clastidium*; the modern Casteggio, and situated to the west of the Trebia. The Carthaginians sent on this expedition must have crossed the Trebia north of the Roman camp.
18. *Nummis aureis*. The *nummus aureus* was equal to 25 *denarii*, or about \$4.00.

XLIX—LI. *Narrative of events in and about Sicily.*

29. *Fretum*; sc. *Siculum*. The three quinqueremes were forced by the current into the strait, so that they were visible (*conspectas*) from Messina.
- 149 5. *Suos*; i. e., the Romans in the different garrisons.
6. *Teneri*; may be taken as historical infinitive. The prætor was himself at Lilybæum, and so defending it in person.—*Edicto*, etc. This order had reference to the holding of Lilybæum, and so is added to the assertion in *teneri*.
9. *Qui...prospicerent*; *missi* must be supplied from line 4; and persons were sent to look out from the watch-towers, etc. But there are here various readings; instead of *simul* at the beginning of the next sentence, Weissenborn reads *missi*, and Madvig *missis* at the end of this one.
10. *Simul itaque...præsensum tamen est*. *Simul itaque*, accordingly, as soon as, to be joined with *præs. est*; *tamen* is added on account of the intervening clause, *quamquam*, etc.
- L.—27. *Eludere*; a word borrowed from gladiatorial combats, meaning to parry or elude, and applied to naval evolutions; *manœuvred*. It is better thus to take *eludere* and the following verbs as historical infinitives, than as dependent upon *velle*.
31. *Conserta esset*; subj. of repeated action.
- 150 14. *Quibusdam volentibus novas res fore*. *Quib. volent.* in the dat., in imitation of the Greek construction *βουλομένῳ μοι ἐστί*. Render, *and that a revolution would be agreeable to some*. Comp. Tacitus, Agric., c. 18, *quibus bellum volentibus erat*; Hist. 3, 43, *ceterisque remanere—volentibus fuit*. Also Sallust, Jugurtha, c. 84, *quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*. See H. 387, 3.

LI.—26. *Sub corona venierunt.* *Sub corona venire*, a common expression for the sale of a slave. Sometimes *sub hasta venire*; as in English, *under the hammer*. Gellius, 7, 4, says: *Mancipia, coronis induta, idcirco dicebantur venire sub corona.* So Festus, p. 306: *Sub corona venire dicuntur, quia captivi coronati solent venire.* Thus it appears that the captives were brought to market, *crowned with garlands*, like the victims destined for sacrifice in the temple; hence *sub corona ven.* W. A. Becker's *Manual of Rom. Antiqq.*, transl. in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 2, p. 569.

1. *Longis navibus.* See n. above, c. 17.

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3. *Ipse...oram Italiae, etc.* Polybius relates, 3, 61, 68, that the army marched from Lilybæum to Messina, and, after crossing the strait, went by land through the whole length of Italy; and that the march was completed in forty days.

LII. *Sempronius sends troops across the Trebia, to defend the Gauls against the Carthaginians.—A skirmish of cavalry ensues, which ends favorably to the Romans.*

8. *Oppositum*; agrees with *quidquid*, as more important than *consules*; now the fact that both consuls, and whatever there was of the Roman forces, were put in opposition to, etc.

10. *Prælio uno.* *Uno*, because Scipio had had two equestrian engagements with Hannibal; one on the Rhone, and one on the Ticinus, in the latter of which he had been defeated.—Heusinger.

27. *Ut*; though, as above, c. 47. *Alia* in nom. case.

29. *Continendis...sociis*; dat. of purpose, *that the best means for keeping the allies to their allegiance, was, etc.*

30. *Primos quosque...censebat.* The reading of the best MSS. in this passage is *primosque qui coissent*, etc. But *coissent* being inadmissible, *equissent*, the conjectural reading of Gronovius, has been adopted by most editors. In the above reading, Alschevski retains the *que* rejected by Gronovius, but inserts *quos*, which, from the similarity of the letters, may be readily believed to have fallen out. *Primos quosque*, *the very first.* *That the very first* (i. e., to let them see, *that the very first*) *who had needed aid, had been defended.*

32. *Ferme*; to be joined with *mille*. *Peditum* = *ex peditibus*.

33. *Trans Trebiam.* The Romans were encamped on the left, or the west bank of the Trebia; Arnold says, "just where the stream issues from the last hills of the Apennines." Hannibal was encamped about five miles off from the Romans, directly between them and Placentia.—*Spar-sos*; sc. *eos*, referring to the Numidians, who were laying waste the Gallic territory, as mentioned in the middle of this chapter.

- PAGE 36. *Hostium* ; i. e., the Carthaginians. *Unde* refers to *castra statio nesque*, and the subject of *restituere* is a pronoun referring to the Romans.
- 152 2. *Romanorum* ; predicate genitive with *fuit*.

LIII. *The exultation of Sempronius over his victory.—
Hannibal's preparations for battle.*

4. *Major* ; sc. *victoria*.
5. *Efferri* ; historical infinitive. The sentences following, as far as *quantum ingemiscant*, are in the *oratio obliqua*.
10. *Senescendum* ; sc. *esse*, and *sibi* also to be supplied dependent upon *senescendum*.
20. *Ditionis fecisse* ; *ditionis* is predicate gen. with *fecisse* ; that the Carthaginian has brought under his power, etc. See H. 403 ; also Madvig, 281, Obs.
22. *Concionabundus*. The open place before the general's tent (*prætorium*) was naturally a place of assemblage, so that a consul speaking there would be like one *haranguing* the people in the forum at Rome in a regularly-summoned *concio*.—*Tempus—comitiorum*. At this period of Roman history, the new consuls entered office on the Ides of March, and the election was wont to take place just before the close of the official year. It was now mid-winter, as is seen below, c. 54, *brumæ tempus*.

LIV. *Hannibal places some of his troops in ambush,
and then, by a feint, induces Sempronius to cross the
Trebis.*

- 153 9. *Tegendo* ; dat. of purpose, limiting *latebrosum*, but by an unusual construction it is here followed by an object, *equites*. See H. 564, 1 ; and Madvig, § 413.
11. *Centenos* ; distributive, relatively to *pedite* and *equite*. So also below, line 16, *novenos*, with *turmis* and *manipulis* ; the former for troops of cavalry ; the latter, of infantry.
13. *Prætorium* ; means here the council of higher officers of the army.
19. *Magoni... dimissis*. *Magoni*, the *dativus commodi*, for *Mago*, i. e., that they might aid Mago in this enterprise.
29. *Omnes copias* ; i. e., his own, and Scipio's.—*Ad destinatum—consilio*. The neuter part. used substantively, as frequently in Livy. *Ad destinatum cons.* = "ad id quod jam ante apud se statuerat."—Alschefski. Comp. n., I. 53.
35. *Quidquid*, etc. ; *quidquid* is adverb. acc., and *auræ*, in the dat., limits *appropinquabant* ; the nearer they approached to the blast from the stream, the sharper was the force of the cold that blew upon them.

1. *Egressis...cannibus.* In the *dative*, and limiting *rigere*; H. PAGE 398, 5. 154

LV. *The battle of the Trebia, and the defeat of the Romans.*

13. *Consul...peditibus.* *Equites* the direct object of *circumdedit*, and *peditibus*, in the *dat.*, the indirect. In translation *revocatos* may be rendered as a participle; *the consul, having given a signal for retreat, recalled the cavalry, when, etc., and placed them on the flanks of the infantry.*

24. *Et fessi, etc.* *Fessi* refers to *quattuor millia*, and *integrus* to *decem*; *et* adds a circumstance which gives new force to the word *vix*; *the weary, too—those who were for the most part fresh.*

33. *Elephanti jam, etc.*; *the elephants had now charged against the centre of the infantry's line*; up to this time they had not been brought into action.

3. *Verrutis.* The *verutum* was a dart used by the light infantry; 155 from *veru*, a *spit*. Its shaft was three and a half feet long, its point five inches. Dict. Antiqq., p. 489.

LVI. *The general rout and flight of the Romans.*

5. *Trepidantesque*; sc. *eos*, referring to *elephantos*.

8. *Quo*; *by which*.

9. *In orbem*; it was in a circle, inasmuch as they were now attacked upon the front and the rear, and the flanks.

15. *Recto itinere*; said in opposition to *reditus*, not in the sense of marching due east. Livy makes the battle take place on the right or eastern bank of the river; so that these ten thousand, if they had succeeded in getting through the enemy's line, could easily reach Placentia. Polybius locates the battle on the other bank.

27. *Et quod reliquum, etc.*; i. e., *et ex magna parte quod militum reliquum erat*.—Fabri; *and for the most part the remainder of the soldiers*. Both Weissenborn and Madvig read, by conjecture, *quod reliquum sauciorum ex magna, etc.*

LVII. *The terror at Rome.—The surrender of Emporium to Hannibal.*

36. *Quo...arcerent*; *with which to repel*.

2. *Quos...duces...esse.* The infinitive, because the words are in 156 the *oratio obliqua*. See n. above, c. 31, *quid—esse*.

6. *Fallendi...falleret.* See n. on *fallere*, V. 47. Compare above, n. c. 48.

11. *Quæque...erant.* *Quæque* for *quæcumque*.
 2. *Scribentibus*; i. e., *rerum scriptoribus, historians.*

LVIII. *Hannibal endeavors to cross the Apennines.*

8. *Ducit*; without an accusative. See n. on this word, I. 23; *Marches*.
 15. *Reciprocare...sineret*; *and did not admit of respiration*.
 22. *Explicare*; *unfold*; in reference to the canvas for tents; while *statuere* may refer to the stakes.
 31. *Movere...recipere.* These words are in the same construction with *fieri*, depending upon *cæperunt*, which is easily supplied from *cæptus est*.

LIX. *Hannibal returns to the neighborhood of Placentia.*
—A skirmish takes place between Hannibal and Sempronius.

5. *Bina*; for this use of the distributive, see H. 174, 2, 3).
 7. *Vincerent*; sc. *ii*, referring to *Romani*, as readily suggested by *Romana res*.
 18. *Pugna raro...ea.* The reading is here uncertain. *Fabri* reads *ulla magis sæva et*; *Weissenborn*, *magis ulla sæva aut*; and *Madvig*, *magis ulla . . .*; all which are conjectures. With the present reading *clara* must be supplied out of *clarior*, *ulla* is the nom., and *ea* abl. after *magis clara*.
 23. *Dimidium ejus*; *half of that number*; but *ejus* is the gen. neuter.
 26. *Præfecti sociorum.* The *præfecti* of the allies had the same rank as the *tribuni militum* of the Roman army.—*Fabri*.

LX. *Scipio is sent to Spain, where he defeats Hanno.*

37. *Omnem oram...ditionis fecit.* *Ditionis* depends upon *fecit*. See n. on this construction, I. 25; and XXI. 53.
 159 4. *Ferociores jam.* *Jam* is thus frequently joined with the comparative, in the sense of *etiam*, even.—*Hand*, *Turs.*, vol. 3., p. 129. *Ad* relates to *valuit*, as well as the preceding *ad* with *populos*.
 14. *Certaminis...dimicatio*; *magni cert.*, limiting *dimicatio* as a gen. of characteristic; *nor was that a combat that required a great struggle*.
 17. *Capiuntur*; the plural is used because the subject followed by *cum principibus* is thought of as consisting of more than one person.
 19. *Mancipiorum*; depends upon *præda*, just as *rerum*; and *supellex* is by apposition to *præda*.

LXI. *Scipio lays waste the territory of the allies of the Carthaginians.* PAGE

30. *Quod ferme fit.* This is equivalent to *nam hoc ferme fit.*—Fabri.

4. *Hostico cis.* This is the emendation of Alschefski. The MSS. 160 have *stoicosis* and *stoicohis*. From *his* or *sis* Alschefski conjectures *cis*, and from *stoico*, *ostico* or *hostico*.

21. *Talentis.* "Where talents are mentioned in the classical writers without any specification of the standard, we must generally understand the Attic."—Dict. Antiqq., p. 949. The value of the Attic talent was circa \$1,000.

LXII. *Prodigies at Romè.*

26. *Triumphum clamasse*; i. e., *Io triumphe!* as in XXIV. 10, *infantem—Io triumphe clamasse*. The Forum Olitorium was near the Porta Carmentalis, between the Tiber and the Capitol. The Forum Boarium was between the Circus Maximus and the Tiber.

35. *Sortes extenuatas.* Alschefski gives *extenuatas* as the reading of the best MSS., but remarks that it does not differ in meaning from *attenuatas*, used in XXII. 1, and is equivalent to *imminui, minores fieri*. The *sortes*, lots, were little tablets of wood, used for the purposes of divination. The fact of their *becoming smaller, shrinking*, was considered a bad omen.

37. *Libros*; i. e. Sibyllinos (as, just below, *libr. Sibyllinis*), mysterious books, said to have been obtained from a Sibyl, or prophetic woman, and always consulted in cases of prodigies and calamities. They were kept in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and were under the care of ten men (*decemviri*), five of whom were patricians, and five plebeians.—See Dict. Antiqq., p. 895.

9. *Lectisternium.* This was a banquet in honor of the gods, prepared on the occasion of extraordinary solemnities. The images of gods were placed in a reclining posture upon the couches, and tables and viands were put before them.—See Dict. Antiqq. 161

11. *Genio*; i. e., the Genius, the tutelary divinity of the city; in accordance with the prevailing opinion that every place, as well as every individual, had such a guardian-spirit, who guided their fortunes, and regulated their destiny.

LXIII. *Flaminius, one of the consuls elect, secretly leaves Rome, and hastens to his province in Cisalpine Gaul.*

18. *Edictum et litteras*, by hendiadys, for *edictum per litt.* Alschefski cites, in illustration, Cic. Epp. ad Fam. 11, 2, 1.

PAGE 21. **Tribunus pl. et quæpostea...habuerat.** Flaminius had been tribune, and had then carried an agrarian law for a general assignation of the Ager Picens, B. C. 232. He had been consul for the first time in the year B. C. 223. After his appointment, when he was already engaged in the war with the Insubrian Gauls, the senate sent orders to both the consuls to return home immediately. But Flaminius refused to obey the summons, and continued his operations till the end of the season with much success, and, on his return home, demanded a triumph. The senate refused it, but he obtained it by a decree of the comitia.—See Arn. Hist. Rome, vol. 2, p. 267.

26. **Ne quis senator...haberet.** This law forbade all senators and sons of senators from being the owners of a ship of a burden of more than three hundred *amphoræ*. The *amphora*, a weight of eighty pounds, was used, like our word ton, to estimate a ship's burden. The express object of the law was to hinder the Roman aristocracy from entering upon mercantile speculations, and becoming, like the Venetian nobles, a company of wealthy merchants.—See Arn. Hist. vol. 2, 26, 9.

32. **Auspiciis ementiendis.** *Auspicia ementiri est falsa auspicia nuntiare.*—Drakenborch. In his first consulship, Flaminius had been ordered home, on the ground that dreadful prodigies had been manifested, and that the omens had not been duly observed at the time of his election.

33. **Latinarumque feriarum.** This was a festival annually celebrated by the ambassadors of the Latin people, under the direction of the consuls. The particular time of the celebration was always determined by the consuls.

162 3. **Spretorum;** sc. et deorum et hominum; *from a consciousness of having despised them.*—*Capitolium—nuncupationem.* The commencement of the consulate was always celebrated by a solemn procession to the capitol, and a sacrifice there to Jupiter Capitolinus, associated with solemn vows and prayers; and, after that, there was a great meeting in the senate.—Dict. Antiq., p. 306.

9. **Paludatis;** *clothed with the paludamentum.* It was the custom for a Roman magistrate, after he had received the *imperium* from the comitia curiata, and had offered up his vows in the capitol, to march out of the city, arrayed in the *paludamentum* (*exire paludatus*, Cic. ad Fam. 8, 10), attended by his lictors in similar attire.

BOOK TWENTY-SECOND.

I-II. *Prodigies at Rome.—Hannibal's passage of the Apennines.*

5. *Pro eo, ut, etc.*; instead of this that they themselves, etc., i. e. instead of themselves plundering, etc. In like manner, *pro eo* is joined with *quod, quantum*.—See Hand, Turs. 4, p. 587.

11. *Errore etiam*. *Error* (see n. I. 24) means *uncertainty, doubt*; and hence *that which occasions uncertainty, leads into error*. Here it means the *deception* which Hannibal practised to mislead his enemies. *Etiam*, in connection with *insidiis*, means *also*, the idea being that he had secured himself against the snares of his enemies *by deception also* on his own part. *Mutando—capitis*, explanatory of *err. et.*, specifies particular artifices to which he resorted.

21. *Nec privatum, etc.* It was customary for the new consul to hold the auspices at Rome on the day he entered upon office. If this were not done, the auspices, afterwards held elsewhere, were deemed not valid. As Flaminius failed to follow the usage, he was considered not a consul, but only a *private citizen*.

27. *Sanguine sudasse*. *Sudare*, like *pluere* (see XXI. 62), and many other verbs, is construed with abl. or acc.

9. *Sortes attenuatas*. See n. XXI. 62.

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21. *Dii divinis carminibus*. Alschefski thus reads, instead of *divinis carminibus*, retaining *divinis*, which is found in nearly all the MSS., but supplying, by conjecture, *dii*, which we can readily believe may have fallen out before *divinis* (*di divinis*). The other dat. with *cordi* is thus furnished in *sibi* understood referring to *dii*.

29. *Quin et ut, etc.*; *nay even that, etc.*

35. *Saturnalia*. See description of this festival in Dict. Antiqq.

1. *Delectu*; for this form of the dative, see H. 116, 4, 3).

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5. *Viam per paludem, etc.* Hannibal "crossed the Apennines, not by the ordinary road to Lucca, descending the valley of the Macra, but, as it appears, by a straighter line down the valley of the Auser or *Serchio*; and, leaving Lucca on his right, he proceeded to struggle through the low and flooded country, which lay between the right bank of the Arno and the Apennines, below Florence, and of which the marsh or lake of Fucecchio still remains a specimen."—Arn. Hist. Rome, vol. 2, p. 295.

13. *Qua modo*. *Qua* is equivalent to *quacumque via*, and *modo* is restrictive, = *dummodo, if only*. The sense is, that they went *anywhere, if only* the guides *there* led the way.

PAGE 16. *Neque...neque...aut, etc.* The negation in *neque*—*neque* be-
165 longs also to the clause *aut*—*sustinebant*.

19. *Ubi...procuissent*; the subj. of repeated action. H. 486, III. 5.

25. *Tantum...aqua*; literally, so much as stood out, etc.; i. e. *only for somewhat that stood out of the water*. *Tantum* is the object of *quaerentibus*.

30. *Vigiliis tamen*; *tamen* in reference to *elephanto*—*vectus*, and the words *vigiliis*—*caput* follow up *primum*, though *deinde* is not expressed.

III-VII. *The battle of Lake Trasimene.*

166 2. *Quæ cognosse in rem erat.* *In rem esse* = *utile esse*; *which it was expedient to know*.

6. *Non modo...sed ne...quidem.* See n. on this construction, I. 40.

20. *In consilio*; "in the *council of war*, composed of persons of senatorian rank, the legates, tribunes, and first centurions."—Fabri.

26. *Quum dedisset, immo, etc.* The reading *quum dedisset* Alschevski adopts in his larger edition from the Harleian MS. The common reading is *proposuit*; but it rests upon doubtful authority. *Immo* from Alschevski, instead of *quia immo*. *Immo* is ironical = *aye*. *Aye, let us sit down*, etc.

37. *Num litteras, etc.* See XXI. 63, on *tribunus plebis*, etc.

167 10. *Ad loca nata insidiis.* On the scene of this battle, Arnold thus remarks: "The modern road along the lake, after passing the village of Passignano, runs for some way close to the water's edge on the right, hemmed in on the left by a line of cliffs, which make it an absolute defile. Then it turns from the lake, and ascends the hills; yet, although they form something of a curve, there is nothing to deserve the name of a valley; and the road, after leaving the lake, begins to ascend almost immediately, so that there is a very short distance during which the hills on the right and left command it.—Hist. Rome, vol. 2, p. 296. Compare Arnold's note, ib. 505.—*Ubi*—*consideret*. *Ubi* is relative, = *quo* or *in quibus*; and with *consideret* expresses purpose; *in which to post himself*.

22. *Tantum...erat.* *Tantum*—*quod*, so much—as; *ex adverso*, opposite to him.

26. *Qui ubi, etc.*; *qui* refers to *omnibus*; as soon as these, etc.

30. *Pariter* has reference to time; *at the same time*.

31. *Romanus...prius...quam...sensit.* It is unnecessary, with Walch and Bekker, to change the position of *prius*, and place it directly before *quam*. Indeed, by such an arrangement, we might be misled, by supposing that *clamore orto* are in the ablative absolute. Render thus: *The Romans, by the shout that arose, before they could see distinctly, perceived that they were surrounded*. With *cerneret* we may supply *se circumventum esse*, or *hostem*, or *cerneret* may be taken absolutely. *Cernere* means to see distinctly, in distinction from *videre*, simply to see.

35. Ut in re trepida. See notes on *ut*, I. 57, and XXI. 34.

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6. Tantumque aberat, etc. The subj. *nosceret* is one of result dependent upon the impers. verb *aberat*, and *competeret* and *opprimerentur* also express result, but in dependence upon *tantum*; and the soldiers so far from knowing, etc., had scarcely sufficient presence of mind, etc. 168

21. Per principes, etc. According to the ordinary arrangement, the *hastati* formed the first line, the *principes* the second, and the *triarii* the third, as Livy himself has described it in VIII. 8, 8. In this passage he has *principes hastatosque*, because these two lines preceded the *signa*, (hence *antesignani*), and formed, as it were, one body.

36. Facie quoque... consul en. Compare the similar passage above in II. 6.

13. Capessere fugam impulerit; for *ad capessendam fugam*, or *ut fugam capesserent*. This construction with the infinitive occurs very frequently in Tacitus, and also in the poets, but is otherwise rare. Fabri cites Tacitus, Ann. 6, 45; 13, 19; 14, 60.—*Impulerit* in the perf. subj. after *qui* with an indefinite antecedent, in the same way as so often after *ut* in clauses of result. See n. I. 3, on *ausi sint*. 169

31. Quæ... coniecit. On the expression *Punica rel.*, compare XXI. 4. *Atque* is equivalent to *et ita*, and so.—Hand, Turs. 1, p. 478.

34. Hæc... nobilis... memorata... elades. *Memorata* is purposely used instead of *memorabilis* or *memoranda*, *memorable*, as the latter expression would be repulsive both to the historian and his Roman readers. *Memorata* is equivalent to *quæ memoratur*, and the historian prefers to say: *One among the few recorded defeats which the Roman people have suffered*, rather than—*One among the few memorable defeats of the Roman people*.

3. Nihil haustum ex vano, etc. *Haustum ex vano* means drawn from 170
an uncertain source, a source not to be relied upon.

5. Fabium. Q. Fabius Pictor, the earliest Roman historian. Comp. n. on II. 40.

9. Flaminii... corpus... inquisitum non invenit: briefly for: *Flaminii—corpus—inquiri jussit, sed inventum non est.*—Alschefski.

16. In comitium et curiam versa magistratus. The comitium occupied the upper or eastern end of the Forum; it was separated from the Forum, in the narrower sense of that word, by the Rostra.—See the Plan of Rome.—The curia here mentioned was the Curia Hostilia, so called from the king who built it, which was on the north side of the Comitium. It was the most important of the buildings early erected upon the Comitium; in it were held the meetings of the Senate, and around it the people were wont to gather, as at the time here referred to, on all occasions of great public interest.—Becker's Handbuch der Röm. Alt. 1, pp. 281, seqq.; Classical Museum, No. xi. p. 9, seqq.; Dict. Antiqq. p. 451.

33. Cerneret. See n. on *timerem*, II. 7.

PAGE VIII. *The defeat of Caius Centenius.—Measures taken at Rome.*

171 12. *Ex comparatione*; literally, in consequence of the comparison, i. e., in comparison with.

14. *Ut...sentiretur, etc.* *Magis* must be joined with *sentiretur*, and *gravior* corresponds to *levis*, and agrees with *causa*. *Valido* is in the same construction with *affecto*; as if it were written in full, *quam in valido corpore gravior*, etc. Observe the different tenses of the verbs *sentiretur*, *inciderit*; the imperf. in the former, because the clause is hypothetical; the perf. in the latter, because the clause expresses what is conceived as an actual occurrence.—*Estimandum esse*. The acc. with the infinitive depends upon a verb easily supplied from the preceding *estimare*.

IX-X. *Hannibal's march into Lower Italy.—Precautionary measures at Rome.*

172 4. *Satis quietis...gaudentibus*. *Quietis*, the conjectural reading of Gronovius, is here adopted, in preference to *quieti*, the reading of the MSS., and given in the former edition.

6. *Marsos*. *Devastat* governs *Marsos* as well as *agrum*, also *Marrucinos* and *Pelignos*, as the name of the people stands here for the country itself.

13. *Dictator iterum*. Fabius had been appointed Dictator four years before.

19. *Libros Sibyllinos*. See n., XXI. 62.

23. *Ludos magnos*. See n. on *spectacula*, I. 35.

24. *Erycinæ*; from Mt. Eryx, in Sicily, on which was a temple, sacred to Venus. Hence the epithet.—*Lectisternium*. See n. on XXI. 62; and on *supplicatio*, see Dict. Antiqq., p. 938.

35. *Velitis jubeatisne*. See n., I. 46.

36. *Populi Romani Quiritium*. On this expression, see note on *Priscis Latinis*, I. 32.

37. *Quod duellum...sunt*. These words Alschevski, following the MSS., has, in his larger edition, placed immediately after *Quiritium*; but they are so closely connected with *hisce duellis*, that I have preferred, with most editors, and also Alschevski in his minor edition, to place them immediately after those words.

173 2. *Datum donum duit*. Whether we take *datum* substantively, and read with Stroth and Fabri *datum, donum*, or explain *datum*, with Gronovius, as = *nunc voto datum*, the meaning is substantially the same. The expression has the usual characteristics of all the language of solemn

forms. *Duit* Alschefski pronounces, on the authority of Festus, as = PAGE
dederit, and translates it as a fut. perf., thus: "Then shall the Roman 173
 people present a gift," etc. On the other hand, with *duit*, in its usual
 force as a pres. subj., it seems necessary to supply *ut* dependent upon
 the preceding *sic fieri*.

5. *Jovi fieri*. *Fieri* = *sacrificari*, and the acc. with infin. depends
 upon *duit* above.

8. *Profanum esto, neque scelus esto*; = *religione veris sacri non te-*
nebitur nec ei erit fraudi, cui mortuum erit; Alschefski; *let it be common*,
 i. e., regarded as not consecrated. *Scelus* = *noxa*; *nefas*, an offence to be
 visited with punishment.

9. *Clepsit*; from *clepere*, κλέπτειν, found only in the earlier language.
 This form Alschefski has from the best MSS., instead of *clepsit*, the com-
 mon reading; it is = *clepsisset*, and the change of the tenses *moritur*,
rumpet, faxit, clepsit, is peculiar to the ancient language, to which the
 whole passage belongs.

12. *Anteidea*, or *antidea*, ancient for *antea*. With *ac* it has the force
 of a comparative, *ac* meaning *than*; *earlier than*. In the larger edition,
 Alschefski reads *faxitur* = *factum erit*.

XI. Plans of the dictator Fabius against Hannibal.

1. *Tibur*; acc. of place with *conveniendum*.

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2. *Ut...uti*; this repetition of *ut* (or *uti*), after an intervening clause,
 is not uncommon in Livy; so V. 21; VIII. 6; and many other places.

8. *Viatores*; from *via*, a servant who executed the commands of the
 Roman magistrates. The higher magistrates had both *lictors* and *via-*
tores; the lower, only *viatores*. Cic. de Senec., c. 16, explains the name:
qui eos (i. e., senes, senatores) *arcessebant, viatores nominati sunt*.

12. *Vetustate*. There had been no dictator since 249 B. C.

20. *Libertini etiam*. It was very unusual to allow the freedmen to
 serve in the army; but the state would naturally have more confidence
 in the loyalty of those who had children, because, for their children's
 sake, they would have a stronger interest in the welfare of their country.

XII. Fabius begins his policy of baffling Hannibal by shunning a pitched battle.

25. *Quo diem, etc.* I prefer this reading, with Fabri and Bekker,
 and Alschefski in the smaller edition, though it has the authority of but
 a single manuscript. *Quo* refers to *Tibur*, and the whole expression is
 in exact accordance with the words just above, in c. 11, *is—Tibur diem*
ad conveniendum edixit. Alschefski has in the larger edition *quo die*.

- PAGE 34. **Victos tandem suos Martios, etc.** This conjectural reading Al-
 174 schefski adopted in his smaller edition, in preference to the MSS. reading
quos; and it seems to me better than any that has been suggested. *Romanis*
 in the dat. limits *victos*, and the clause may be translated thus:
that the Romans too had at last lost their martial spirit. Martios,
 i. e., the spirit which they believed they had inherited from Mars himself.
 175 11. **Nisi...necessarii cogeret.** *Necessarii* is here adopted instead of
necessario; except so far as the use of what was necessary required.

16. **Summa rerum**; as in XXI. 29, = the entire war; nor was the war
 on the whole committed to the risk of a general engagement.

21. **Nihil aliud...habebat**; literally, *had no other hinderance*; i. e.,
 was kept by nothing but his inferiority in command, from ruining the state.

XIII. *By a mistake of his guide, Hannibal is brought,
 far out of his way, to Casilinum instead of Casinum.*

- 176 1. **Quum res...esset**; since the thing itself was too great for the charac-
 ter of his advisers.

9. **Ab Latino nomine.** This is Alschevski's emendation of the MS.
 reading, *ab Latinorum nominum*; but the Punic, differing from the Latin
 name, etc.

14. **Ubi terrarum esset**; where in the world he was. See H. 396, III.,
 2, 4), (4).

24. **Nec abnuébant...parere.** *Abnuébant* to be joined with *quia*, like
 the preceding verb. The intervening clause *quod—est* belongs to the
 whole expression *abnuébant melioribus parere*.

XIV. *Minucius, the master of horse, inveighs against the
 inactivity of the dictator.*

35. **Ad rem fruendam, etc.** *Ad* Alschevski reads from the MSS. in-
 stead of the conjecture of Gronovius, *ut*. *Ad rem fr.* must be joined
 with *venimus*, and *spectatumne* with *cædes et incendia*. *Have we come*
hither to a spectacle, on which our eyes may feast, to gaze upon the slaughter
of our allies and the burning of their territory?

37. **Si nullius alterius, etc.** *If for no one else, are we restrained by re-*
spect not even for these our fellow-citizens.

- 177 5. **Tantum pro, etc.** *Pro* is an interjection, *alas! So much, alas!*
have we fallen from the spirit of our fathers, etc.

30. **L. Papirius Cursor**; in the second Samnite war, 321 B. C.

33. **Modo C. Lutatio, etc.** The allusion is to the naval victory of C.
 Lutatius Catulus, B. C. 242, in the first Punic war. *Modo*, like *nuper*,
lately, is used in reference to intervals of considerable length—here to

one of twenty-five years—when, from any circumstances, they may appear short to the speaker. Here the victory of Lutatius, in comparison with the exploits of Papirius, which had been just referred to, might well seem to have occurred recently.

XV. *Mancinus, with four hundred Roman horsemen, is attacked by a party of Hannibal's cavalry, and slain, together with a large part of his command.*

9. **Fabius, pariter, etc.** I follow, in this sentence, the reading of Alschefski's minor edition, and that of most editions. *Pariter* certainly seems redundant, as *haud minus* immediately follows; still, the clause *haud*—*hostes* we may consider epexegetical of *pariter*; *attentive alike, no less to his own troops than to the enemy.*

11. **Scit**; historical present, though this is uncommon with Livy in subordinate clauses, except with *dum*.

18. **Hæc** refers back to the words *ut Hannibal—circumspectaret*.

21. **Dirempta...dividit.** "*Dividere* refers to a whole, of which the parts are merely locally and mechanically joined, and accordingly severs only an *external* relation; but *dirimere* to a whole, of which the parts organically cohere, and accordingly destroys an *internal* relation. Liv. XXII. 15, *Casilinum urbs—flumine—dirempta—dividit—*; because the separation of a city into halves by a river is an *unnatural* one, and, on the other hand, the separation of two neighboring districts by a city is a *natural* one."—Doederlein.

2. **Omni parte...impar.** *Omni parte, in every respect—totally; totally unequal in strength.*

XVI-XVII. *Hannibal is shut in by Fabius in a place unsuitable for winter quarters, and escapes by a stratagem.*

17. **Cum expeditis equitibus.** Thus Alschefski reads, in preference to the reading of some MSS. *expeditis equitibusque*. With the latter reading, inasmuch as *expeditis* alone would be incomplete, it would be necessary to adopt Weissenborn's conjecture, and supply *peditibus* before *equitibus*. But *expediti* may be said of *equites* as well as of *pedites*, as is clearly shown below, in c. 55, *equites expeditos et Appia*, etc. Thus the above reading is every way to be preferred.

23. **Tantum...divitum sociorum**; "*so many rich allies.*"

27. **Quam per Casilinum, etc.** Arnold has thus described the arrangements of Fabius for cutting off the escape of Hannibal: "He sent parties to secure even the pass of Tarracina, lest Hannibal should attempt to ad-

PAGE vance by the Appian road upon Rome; he garrisoned Casilinum on the
 179 enemy's rear; the Vulturnus from Casilinum to the sea barred all retreat southward; the colony of Cales stopped the outlet from the plain by the Latin road; while from Cales to Casilinum the hills formed an unbroken barrier, steep and wooded, the few paths over which were already secured by Roman soldiers."—Hist. 2, p. 303.

34. Præliganturque. So Alschefski, from the best MSS., instead of *præligantur*. *Collectæ* here, as in numberless instances, for *collectæ sunt*. — *Aridi sarmenti* (gen.) from Alschefski, instead of *arida sarmenta*.

180 **6. In adversos... montes;** "*up the hills.*"

7. Calorque jam, etc. Alschefski has restored *diu* upon the best MS. authority. *Ad vivum*, to the quick.

9. Quo...discursu. The relative, agreeing with *discursu*, though it really refers back to *boves*; instead of *quorum disc.* The same construction frequently occurs with the demonstrative pronoun. See Grysar, p. 204. The sense is also well given by Alschefski thus: *qui cum—repente discurrissent*.

15. Minime means here *least of all*, the idea being that *fewer* fires glittered here *than anywhere else*. Gronovius, who restored *minime* to the text, aptly referred, in illustration, to Cæsar, Bell. G. 2, 33, *minime arduus*; Liv. XXXIII. 8 (at the end); to which Fabri adds Cic. Brutus, 57, placebat—maxime, vel dicam, *minime* displicebat, and De Nat. D. 1, 3, in similar contrast with *maxime*; and opposed to *plurimum*, Orator, 66.

22. Nox...neutros...tenuit. The whole sense, though here very briefly expressed, is manifestly this: *Neither party* renewed the fight, as *both* were restrained by an equal fear. *Neutros* strictly belongs only to *incipientes*, and we should expect *utrosque* with *tenuit*. Alschefski thus explains: *cum nox—utrosque teneret, nec Romani—nec Hannibalis levis armatura—incipere pugnam ausi sunt*.

XVIII. *Fabius follows Hannibal, but continues to refuse giving battle. He is called to Rome, and before his departure enjoins it upon Minucius to pursue the same cautious policy.*

32. Ad id ipsum...pervenisset. *Ad id ips.*, for that very purpose. *Pervenisset* is the reading of the MSS., and is retained by Alschefski, as it had been by Fabri, in preference to *supervenisset*, the conjecture of Gronovius, adopted by Bekker, and to *prævenisset*, the reading of Kreyssig and of Baumgarten—Crusius.

33. Assuetior montibus. On the construction, comp. n. XXI. 33.

34. Ac leviorque. So Alschevski, instead of *ac levior*; and also more PAGE
nimble. Alschevski compares above, c. 12, *debellatumque et concessumque*. 180

14. Confidat...imitetur; in subj. with *ut*, in dependence upon *agens*. 181
Censeret, in the next line, belongs to the *oratio obliqua*, corresponding to *ne*
sense, or *ne censeas* in the *oratio recta*.

19. Ab continuis...ac respirasse. This reading from Alschevski's
editio major I adopt, as on the whole the best. It has certainly the au-
thority of the best MSS. The sense which it gives is also clear. *Ab*
with *contin. clad.* is equivalent to *post*; Hand, Turs. 1, p. 45.

XIX. *Affairs in Spain. A naval victory won by the Romans.*

30. Terra, abl. of place; so used alone, as well as in *terra marique*.

32. Delecto...imposito. *Ad naves* to be joined, not with *milite*, but
with *delecto*; soldiers levied for the ships, i. e. the marine service. *Imposito*,
absolute for *imp. in naves*. Having embarked the soldiers levied for the
marine service.

18. Alii, resolutis oris, etc. The *oræ* were the cables at the stern, by 182
which the ship was fastened to the shore; *ancoralia*, those at the prow,
by which the anchors were let down. *Eveli in ancoras*, to sail against
the anchors.

21. Capere...prohibentur. On the construction, see n. I. 39.

XX. *Success of Scipio in an expedition with his fleet.*

10. Sublato, sc. *eo*, the antecedent of *quod*; having taken away 183
enough for their use.

12. Proiectas oras; projecting shores; but the readings vary; Weis-
senborn has *prævecta est oram*, and Madvig *prælecta est ora*.

22. Facti sint, the reading of the best MSS., Alschevski retains, because
by the subjunctive is expressed the uncertainty of these new acquisitions.

XXI. *Further movements in Spain.*

28. Fuissetque per, etc. *Per*, on account of, so far as it concerns.
And would have been, so far as the Carthaginian foe was concerned.

35. Ut...manum. On the force of *ut*, see n. XXI. 7.

XXII. *The Spanish hostages are liberated through a stratagem of Abellux.*

31. Nihil...corpus. *Corpus* for *homo*, and expressive of contempt; 184
nothing but a worthless and infamous creature.

PAGE 33. *Potestatis ejus*; "his power," *ejus* depending upon *potestatis*. On 184 the construction of *potestatis*, see n., I. 25, on *ditionis—facti*.

35. *Eam unam rem maxime*. *Unus* strengthens the superlative. That that thing *alone more than any thing else*; that *nothing so surely as that would gain for the Romans the friendship of the Spanish chiefs*.

185 6. *Abessent*. The subj., because it is said in accordance with the sentiments of the Spaniards; and in the imperfect, instead of the pluperfect, to express what was *yet going on* within the interval fixed by the words *ad eam diem*. The pluperfect would express the idea that a change had already taken place, and that things were now different.

15. *Obsidium*. Alschevski has this form from his MSS., and also, just above, *obsidium custodes*; but *obsidum* is certainly the regular form.

18. *Ad...ingenia*. *Ad*, in comparison with. Hand, Turs. I, 107.

30. *Quo si*; i. e., *quo acta forent*.—Fabri. In this line Alschevski reads, in the larger edition, *eundem ordine*, and contends that *eundem* refers to *Abelux*. But, as that reading is found but in a single MS., I retain *eundem ordinem*.

31. *Romanorum gratia*; favor towards the Romans, the good will gained by the Romans.

XXIII. *The character of Fabius.*

186 6. *Cunctatio Fabii*. The slow, defensive system—the "masterly inactivity"—in which Fabius wisely persisted, has rendered the *Fabian policy* proverbial among all nations. He was known by the appellation of *Cunctator*. Compare Cic. de Senec., 4, Hannibalem juveniliter exultantem patientia sua mollebat (Fabius); de quo præclare familiaris noster Ennius:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem:
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

XXIV. *A slight success gained by Minucius over Hannibal.*

187 3. *Censilia calidiora*. *Calidiora* Alschevski explains by "*temeraria violentaque et inconsulta*." So, also, Freund defines *calidum—consil.* by *temerarium, præceps, rash, precipitate*.

8. *Quum hostis*; although the enemy; as it was the fact of the enemy now being near, that made it appear strange that Hannibal sent away *tertiam partem*, etc.

14. *Ad quem capiendum...ceperunt*. Gronovius wished to strike out *ceperunt*, as unnecessary. But it is found in all the MSS. But in translation, the sense is certainly the same as if *quem* grammatically be-

longed to *ceperunt*, e. g., *quem*, quia si ad *eum* capiendum—iretur—præv. PAGE
erat nocte—ceperunt. 187

25. Pars...jam ferme; *a part was now generally absent.*

XXV. *A law is passed which gives to Minucius an equal command with Fabius.*

8. Ut essent. *Ut, though, even if; even if every thing were true.* Com-188
pare XXI. 47, *ut—transvezerint.*

10. Id enim...negat. *Enim* has here the force of strong *asseveration*, as in English, *really, now really; says that really that was not to be borne.*—Hand, Turs. 2, p. 388.

17. Quorum, etc. This reading is given instead of *quorum*, as the relative (sc. *provinciarum*) must necessarily refer to *Sicilia atque Sardinia*.

27. Ut...abscesserit. *Ut, as soon as.* *Ut* in *ut obsidione* means *as if*.

30. Latrum fuisse; for the pluperf. of the *oratio recta*; *would have proposed.*

33. Nec...ne...quidem. Two negatives which do not destroy each other. Comp. III. 54, *nihil—ne—quidem*, and Z. § 754, note; the meaning is: *and that he should not, etc., not even thus*, i. e., on these conditions. Render, *and that even on these conditions Fabius should not be sent, etc.*

35. In actione; i. e., in proceedings before the people, as *actio* as a noun corresponds to the verbal expression *agere cum populo*.

5. Bono imperatore. This reading Alschevski has, on the authority 189
of the best MSS., instead of *imperator*; and the sense is clear: *with a good commander*, i. e., *so soon as they had a good commander*.

15. Auctoritas; *influence*, i. e., of men of weight of character; the bill was carried by popular favor, and with silence on the part of men of influence.

XXVI. *The character and previous career of Terentius Varro.*

23. Togaque et forum. *Toga*, the ordinary dress of a Roman when in public, and *forum*, the place for the transaction of public affairs, are here joined together to express the idea of *public life, the life of a statesman*.

28. Haud parum callide; with *not a little*, i. e., *with great—shrewdness*; as we sometime say, *shrewdly enough*.

35. Litteris senatus consulti; the dispatch of the decree of the senate, i. e., “the dispatch containing the decree of the senate.” The con-

PAGE jectural reading of Gronovius, adopted by Fabri, is *litt. senatusque consulto*.

190 1. *Camque invicto*, etc. The *que* connects the words *cum—animo* with *satis fidens*.

XXVII. *The exultation of Minucius.—Fabius and Minucius divide between them the troops and occupy separate camps.*

18. *Partitis* ; used passively. See n. on *experta*, I. 17.

23. *Cum illo*. In the *edit. major*, Alschefski reads *alio*, and certainly on the authority of many and good MSS. ; but the context is in favor of *illo*.

24. *Parte, qua posset*. With *posset* must be supplied *res consilio gerere* ; or *non cedere*.

XXVIII. *Minucius risks an engagement with Hannibal, and is in danger of entire defeat.*

191 14. *Necubi tamen*. *Necubi* = *ne alicubi*, *lest anywhere* ; yet that nowhere. So above, c. 2, *necubi—deessent* ; 16, *necubi—aggrederentur*. In like manner *necunde* = *ne alicunde* above, c. 23, *circumspectans, necunde—fieret*.—Hand, Turs. 4, p. 149.

16. *Quem ante diximus* ; *before-mentioned*. Expressions of this kind, e. g., *so-called, above-mentioned, the present, the future*, etc., are given in Latin by a circumlocution with a relative.

25. *Ut crescente certamine*. On *ut*, see n. XXI. 7.

31. *Si justa . . . recta . . . esset*. On *justa pugna*, see n., V. 49. *Recta pugna* is opposed to *insidiæ* or *incursiones a tergo, a lateribus factæ*, one in which the parties meet face to face ; *open, honorable*.

XXIX. *Fabius comes to the aid of Minucius, and defeats Hannibal.*

192 22. *Sæpe ego*. On this whole passage Fabri aptly compares Hesiod, Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, vv. 263, seqq. ; also Cic. Cluent. 31.

XXX. *Minucius, with his troops, thanks Fabius and then reassumes his former subordinate rank.*

193 3. *Patronos consalutasset* ; in the same sense as *patrem appellasset*, and, at the end of the preceding chapter, *patronos salutabitis* ; the direct forms were, perhaps : *Salve, pater* ; *salvete, patroni*.

5. Quo fando possum; sc. *æquare*.

9. Quod exercitibusque. The *que* is connected with *exercitibus*, 193 because the additional thought lies in that word, and not in *quod*.

12. Magistri equitum. *Mag.* dependent upon *ordinem*, which may be easily supplied from *ordines*.

25. Eam nubem, etc. In these words Hannibal compares the Roman army to a cloud hovering upon the mountains, as it was the policy of Fabius to keep upon the hills, and not come down to the plain, to give battle to the enemy.

XXXI. *The consul Servilius lands in Africa, but is forced to retreat, and to return to Sicily.*

36. Juxta...ac si; just as if. So also Cic. post Red. in Sen. 8, 20, *juxta ac si meus frater esset*; Sall. Jug., 45, 2, *juxta ac si*—*adessent*. These are the only instances given of this construction by Hand, Turs. 3, p. 541. A similar construction in Liv. X. 6, *juxta—quam—viderent*.

3. Ad mille hominum. These words seem to be used as a substantive expression, in the abl. abs. with *amisso*; after about a thousand men, with them *Semp. B.*, were lost.—*Mille* is generally used as an adjective, see Z. § 116. Yet other instances of its use as a substantive occur in Livy, as XXII. 37, *mille sagittariorum*; XXIV. 40, *mille hominum*.

19. Titulam imaginis. See n., III. 58, on *virum—imaginis*.

XXXII. *Fabius and Minucius, their term of office having expired, give up their troops to the consuls.—The arrival at Rome of Neapolitan ambassadors.*

28. Adeoque inopiæ; and to such a degree of want. *Inopiæ* in the gen. depending upon *adeo*, in the same way as the gen. depends upon *adhuc*, *eo*, and other adverbs. Yet this construction is doubtful, as well as the reading itself.

29. Abeundum; sc. *esse*. The common reading is *abeundo*. Alschevski cites X. 36, *ni cedenti instaturum alterum timuissent*, in illustration of the use of the infinitive with verbs of fearing, especially in conditional sentences. So also XI. 7, *subitum timerem*.

1. Geratur; sc. *bellum*.

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5. Fuisse oblaturus; would have offered. See n. I. 46, *futurum fuisse*.

7. Duxissent...judicaverint. We have the pluperf. and the perf. both dependent upon *facturum*, sc. *esse*. But Livy seems to have used the perf. *judicaverint*, because it was in accordance with the feelings of the Neapolitans, and with the style of their present address, to give to the

PAGE condition in *judicaverint*, as something to be directly fulfilled, as much
195 actual reality as possible.

XXXIII. *Embassies sent to Philip of Macedonia and to the Ligurians.*

22. *Illyrios...ad stipendium.* See n. XXI. 16.

27. *Per seditionem militarem; on the occasion of a military sedition.*

31. *Ædem...faciendam locaverunt; let out by contract the building of a temple.*

34. *Quam jussissent; i. e., in quam jussissent, sc. comitia edici.*

XXXIV. *Struggle between the patricians and plebeians at the consular comitia.*

196 12. *Ab...opibus, etc.; i. e., postquam Fabii potestas fracta erat.—*
Hand, Turs. 1, p. 45.

23. *Cum...universis; with four legions together, i. e., with the two consular armies united.*

33. *Cui...apparere.* See n. on *quid—esse*, XXI. 30.

35. *Ambos...morando; by remaining both of them with the army.*

XXXV. *C. Terentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus are elected consuls.*

197 10. *Comitia rogando collegæ.* On the dat., see H. 564, 3.

13. *Sua prope ambustus evaserat; had himself barely escaped condemnation. Prope ambustus, literally, almost burnt, often applied to a person prosecuted. Comp. below, c. 40, se populare incendium—semiustum effugisse.*

16. *Par magis in adversandum; rather as a match for him as an opponent.*

XXXVI. *New levies.—Prodigies.*

33. *Millibus peditum.* See Z. § 119, where the distributive sense of *millia* in this passage is referred to.

36. *Peditis* depends upon *numerus*. In the *edit. maj.* Alschevski reads *péditi*.

198 9. *Cæretes...calidas; the reading of Alschevski instead of cædes aquas e fonte calidas. Fonte calido, though it was a warm spring.*

XXXVII. *Presents from Hiero.*

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19. *Ut potuerit*; literally, that he was able; i. e. *that he could have been no more moved by any*, etc.

23. *Se... misisse*. *Se* seems to be here used instead of *eum*, because the ambassadors, inasmuch as they represent Hiero, speak, as it were, in his person.

31. *Millite*; for *pedite*, in connection with *equite*.

34. *Mille... funditorum*. See above, c. 37, n. on *mille hominum*.

35. *Pugnacesque... gentes*; and other nations accustomed to fight with missile weapons. *Pugnax* occurs here in an unusual construction, as it is generally used absolutely, *fond of fighting, warlike*.

12. *Firmam... stabilem*. *Firmum*, something *steadfast*, inasmuch as 199 it bids defiance to all attacks; *stabile*, as it is no more subject to change, *durable*.—Doederlein, 4, p. 165.

XXXVIII. *The confident speeches of Varro, and the more cautious ones of Paulus.*

19. *Dum... venirent*. See note, XXI. 8, on *dum curaretur*.

20. *Jurejurando*. *Jusjurandum*, a civil oath, by which a man confirms or promises something; *sacramentum*, a military oath, by which a soldier binds himself not to forsake his standard.—D.

24. *Decuriati equites... pedites*. Each *ala* of the cavalry was divided into ten *turmæ*, and each *turma* into three *decuriæ*; hence *decuriare*. On the other hand, the legions of the infantry were divided each into cohorts, maniples, and *centuriæ*; hence *centuriare*.

25. *Sese fugæ, etc.* These words, as well as those just below, *voluntario—federe*, refer to the usual *sacramentum*.—On *ergo*, see H. 411.

37. *Quodne qui dux*; *what any general*. *Quomodo*, the conjecture of Valla, is adopted by Fabri and Bekker; but the above is the reading of the MSS., and is restored by Alschefski, as it yields an intelligible meaning.

9. *Ad id locerum*; = *ad id tempus*. See H. 396, III. 2, 4), (4). 200

XXXIX. *The counsel of Fabius to Paulus.*

20. *Clandet*; from *claudere*, *to be lame, to be weak*.

24. *Et... si certaturus es, adversus, etc.* This is the emendation of Alschefski. The common reading is *sis certaturus*; *et adversus*, etc. The *et* connects *pugnandum—sit, sit oppugnaturus* with *nescio an. Ana (whether—not), etc.*

30. *Furere... insanit*. In using these two words, the speaker means

PAGE to say, that with Flaminius there had been an excitement of feeling, which occasioned, as it were, a temporary derangement; but that Varro appeared like one who had long since quite lost his reason.—Fabri.

201 2. *Adversus unum*; *adversus* = *coram*; and *unum* (in reference to Paulus) is said in distinction from *adv. senatum* or *populum*. The *et in nec* (= *et non*) corresponds to *et* with *ego*, etc.; *on the one hand—on the other hand*. *Excesserim* has a potential force; literally, I would rather exceed the bounds, i. e., *I would prefer to go too far in despising*, etc.

12. *Tempus diesque*; *the time, with every (passing) day*.

22. *Quamdiu*, etc. The sentence is purposely abrupt and unfinished, for the sake of force and vivacity. It is the figure called *aposiopesis*; see H. 704, I. 3. *How long before the walls*, etc.; leaving the hearer to infer *how long* did I make him sit before, etc.

31. *Famam rumoresque*. *Rumor*, report; the uncertain, dark, often clandestine, propagation of intelligence, in opp. to authentic information. *Fama*, information, open and public propagation of intelligence, in opp. to ocular demonstration.—D.

33. *Veritatem...extingui nunquam*; a parallel passage to this is found in Bryanti's familiar words:

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again."

202 1. *Nec ego*. *Volo* must be supplied, as *malo* occurs just before. Gronovius and Bekker read *non fortuna velim*; Fabri and Weissenborn read *moneo* after *agatur*.

XL. *The new consuls leave Rome for the seat of war.*

10. *Quid...fore*. See n., XXI. 30, on *quid—esse*.

12. *Semiustum*. See above, n. on *ambustus*, c. 35.

15. *Ab hoc sermone*. *Ab*, immediately after. See above, c. 34, n. on *ab—opibus*; and c. 18, on *ab—cladibus*.

17. *Turba...decescent*. *Turba* is abl.; *attracting more attention by their great numbers*. *Dignitates*, i. e., *homines alicujus dignitatis*.

22. *Consulium*. Such a partitive genitive depending upon a proper name, Fabri shows by numerous passages to be a common construction in Livy.

XLI–XLII. *A disorderly engagement occurs, in which the Carthaginians suffer great loss.—Hannibal plans an ambuscade, which fails of success.*

36. *Tumultuario proelio ac*, etc. *Proelio*, abl. of cause; and *ac* is explicative.—Fabri. The sense is this: by a disorderly engagement, one, *namely*, which arose, etc.

4. *Alternis*; sc. *diebus*.

PAGE

17. *Medium agmen*. These words are explanatory of *impedimenta*. 203
Alschevski thus gives the sense: *impedimenta ita traducit per convallem, ut medio in loco inter pedites equitesque essent*.

27. *Ut...reliquerint*. The perf. subj. is given, to make the words come as near as possible to those used by the messengers *nuntiantium*; they would say, *fuga trepida reliquerunt*.

37. *Speculatusque, etc.* So Alschevski reads, instead of *speculatusque cura—renuntiat*. With *speculatus, est* must be supplied.

9. *Auspicio...addixissent*. *Auspicio* = *in auspicio*, or may be taken 204
as abl. of *instrument*. On this kind of auspices, see Dict. Antiqq., p. 130.

12. *Claudique, etc.* See Liddell, c. 29, § 18; Arnold, 2, p. 174.
On *memorata*, see above, c. 7.

XLIII. *Hannibal proceeds to Cannæ, in Apulia, and is followed thither by the Romans.*

2. *Eo maturiora messibus*. *Eo*, on that account. *Messibus*, dat., de- 205
pending upon *maturiora*. Fabri compares Liv. II. 5. The sense is: places in which the harvest was earlier.

7. *Ultra...trans*. The separation denoted by *ultra* is merely that of a boundary; by *trans*, that of an obstruction.—D.

18. *Ipsi aversi*. The Vulturius, the Greek *Ευπόροτος*, the modern Sirocco, blew from the S. E., or, more strictly, the E. S. E.; and Hannibal's camp faced northwesterly.

XLIV. *Hannibal skirmishes with his Numidians.—Discord among the Romans.*

26. *Trans Aufidum*; i. e., in reference to the greater camp, which, with the main army of the Romans, was now on the left bank of the river; and so the *minora castra* on the right. Hannibal's army also was still on the left bank. But this question of the first position of the two armies, and with it the question on which side of the river the battle was fought, is a disputed one. The chief points are these: From the passages in c. 43 (toward the end), *prope eum vicum*, etc., and c. 44 (at the beginning), it would naturally be inferred, that both armies were at first on the right or south bank; if so, then, as both armies afterwards cross the river (see c. 45, p. 206, l. 22, and c. 46, p. 206, l. 32), the battle must have been fought on the left or north bank. On the other hand, it is stated, in the first place, in c. 45 (*id erat—propius*), that the right Roman wing was, after the crossing of the river, nearer the river; and, in the second place, in c. 46, at the end, that the Romans faced the

PAGE south, and the Carthaginians the north ; from these direct statements, it
 205 would appear that the first position of both armies was on the left bank, and that the battle was fought on the right bank.—Both Arnold and Liddell represent the battle as fought on the right bank ; Mommsen, in his own edition of 1854, takes the same view, but in the English translation (London, 1808) the battle is represented as fought on the left bank.

37. *Vel usu cepisset.* See n. on *usu*, I. 46.

206 5. *Videret* ; sc. Varro. See n. on *mollirent*, I. 9. *He might see to it.*

XLV. *The Numidians attack a watering party of the Romans.—The Romans cross the river, and draw up all their forces in order of battle.*

15–18. *Ut...tenuerit...fuerit.* *Ut = ita ut*, so that ; *tenuerit*—*ne—transirent*, etc., kept the Romans from crossing, etc. ; *fuerit* rather than *esset*, from the close connection with *tenuerit*.

24. *Id erat flumini propius.* The whole army was now on the right bank of the river ; and, from the above words, it of course follows that the Roman army faced the south. Comp. above, c. 43, n. on *ipsi aversi* ; and n., c. 44, on *trans Aufidum* ; also, see Arnold, Hist. 2, pp. 311–313.

26. *Extremi*, etc. *Extremi* in opp. to *intra*. The cavalry of the allies were on the *extreme left* ; then the allied infantry, joining the Roman legions, who formed the centre.

XLVI. *The Carthaginians cross the river, and form in line of battle.*

36. *Peditibus* ; abl. of instrument, though in reference to *persons*. Comp. XXI. 46, *Numidis*.

207 7. *Alius.* See n. II. 38. On *habitus*, V. 41.

XLVII–XLIX. *The battle of Cannæ, in which the Romans suffer a most disastrous defeat, and the consul Paulus is killed.*

31. *Pares...Gallis Hispanisque.* *Gallis Hispanisque*, dat. for gen. ; see H. 398, 5. With *pares* supply *Romanis*.

33. *Æqua fronte* ; *even front*, that is, forming a *straight line*, in opp. to the enemy's line, which approached the form of a half-moon, the Gauls and Spaniards being somewhat in advance.

2. Reductis alis; i. e., in relation to the Gauls and Spaniards. See PAGE 208
preceding note.

4. Equavit frontem; made the *front even*, i. e., in falling back they first came into a *straight line* with the rest of the troops. See above, n. on *æqua fronte*.

6. Circumdedere alas; *outflanked*; *Romanis* is in the dative. See H. 384, II. 1. This action of Hannibal probably belonged to his plan of the battle. The Gauls and Spaniards had been put forward so as to give a convex form to the line in the centre. The Romans drove in these troops at the centre, so that they first were in a line with the rest of the army, then by giving way (*cedendo*) fell behind, drawing in the Romans after them; then the Africans closed in on both sides, and fell upon both of the Roman flanks.

12. Recentibus... vegetis. *Recens*, fresh in respect to *strength*, the *energies*; *vegetus*, to *courage*, *spirit*.—Doederlein, IV. p. 446, quoted by Fabri.

27. Quam... alibi... alibi... qui... jam. The first *alibi* may refer to the left wing of the Romans; the second, to the legions, surrounded by the African troops. *Jam* is the emendation of Alschefski. Hasdrubal at first was placed upon the left wing of the Carthaginians, but *now (jam)* commanded the right.

29. Ex media acie; if *media* is the true reading, *media acie* would seem to refer to the centre, not of the whole line, but of the *right wing*, on which the Numidians had been placed.

33. Parte altera; Æmilius was at first in command of the cavalry on the Roman right; but, as Polybius mentions (c. 116), after the retreat of the cavalry, he betook himself to the centre, where he comes in contact, as here mentioned, with Hannibal.

3. Quam mallem, etc. *Quam mallem* is ironical = *quam parum mallem*, or *non mallem*; *how* would I prefer, i. e., I would *no more* prefer, *would like it no better*; *just as good, as if he should deliver them to me in chains!*—*Quam* has often this force; as Liv. VIII. 33, *quam conveniens*, i. e., *minus conveniens*; Terence, Andr., 1, 5, 52, *quam utiles*, i. e., *parum utiles*, *inutiles*; ib. 4, 5, 16, *quam—facile—utile*, i. e., *difficile—inutile*.

13. Dum et tibi... superest. *Et tibi*, *you also, you on your part*. The clause must be joined with *comes—protegere*. The sense is: I can protect you, so far as I am concerned, so long as *you also* have any strength left.

17. Macte virtute. See n., II. 12.

22. Vixisse adhuc et mori. This is the happy reading of Alschefski, instead of *vixisse et adhuc mori*; *that I have lived up to this time, and that I die*.

33. Insertus. For *infestus*, the unintelligible MSS. reading, various

PAGE words have been proposed; but *insertus* seems to be the best. Alscheff-
209 ski compares Ovid, *Ars. Am.* 1, 605, *insere te turbæ*.

L. *Reflections on the battle.*—Six hundred Romans escape from the smaller to the larger Roman camp, and thence, with another body of men, to Canusium.

210 14. *Alterius morientis fuit.* Predicate genitive; shared, in death, the fate of the other consul—i. e. followed—in death the other consul.

21. *Cur...venire.* See n., XXI. 30, on *quid esse*.

28. *Civis sis, etc.* Such a question would be asked, because a Latin ally would be ransomed for a smaller sum than a Roman citizen. *Alteri* is ambiguous in its reference; whether to the Carthaginians (as *Fabri* would have it), who sought honor for themselves in humbling the Romans, or to *Latinus socius*; but the latter reference is to be preferred. *Tua*, and, below, *tu*, instead of *vestra* and *vos*, because more forcible and direct

LI. *Description of the field after the battle.*

211 11. *Bello*; purposely used, instead of *pugna*, as if with so decisive a victory the war itself were ended.

12. *Noctisque.* *Noctis* depends upon *quietem*; and the preceding words, *diei quod reliquum esset* = *reliquum diei*. The sense of the whole is this: *reliquæ partes diei et noctis insequentis quietem*—sumeret.—*Fabri*.

20. *Temporis opus esse.* For the gen., see H. 419, V. 3, 2), (1). Alscheffski compares XXIII. 21, *argenti opus fuit*.

22. *Mora...saluti...urbi.* "There are moments when rashness is wisdom; and it may be that this was one of them. The statue of the goddess Victory in the Capitol may well have trembled in every limb on that day, and have drooped her wings, as if forever; but Hannibal came not; and if panic had for one moment unnerved the iron courage of the Roman aristocracy, on the next their inborn spirit revived; and their resolute will, striving beyond its present power, created, as is the law of our nature, the power which it required."—Arnold, 2, p. 316.

LII. *Surrender and ransom of the Romans in the smaller camp.*—The plunder of the larger one, after the escape from it of the soldiers.

212 4. *Brachio flumini objecto.* This is the order of the words in all the MSS.; but in some of them the reading is *fluminis*, and in others *flumine*. *Flumini* is the emendation of Sigonius, and was adopted by Alscheffski in

the minor edition, and seems to me correct. *Brachium* means here *out-works, line of outworks*, which Hannibal threw up before—or over against—the river. The reading of Gronovius, *brachio objecto, flumine*, though indeed yielding a good sense, varies too much from the MSS., and is besides unnecessary.

19. *Ad vescendum facto*; i. e., silver plate, table-service

LIII. *The patriotism and courageous action of Publius Cornelius Scipio.*

35. *Adolescentem*; the same Scipio, who is mentioned in XXI. 46, as saving his father's life at the battle of the Ticinus; he is now nineteen years old.

3. *Quorum principem*; sc. esse, according to the usual construction in the *oratio obliqua*.

10. *Irent*. See n., I. 9, on *mollirent*. The imperf., because *negat* is the historic present; comp. n. on *fecissent*, I. 25.

15. *Ex mei animi sententia*. This is a strong form of affirmation; *from my very soul I declare, that, as I will not desert—so I will not suffer*, etc.

LIV. *The consternation at Rome.*

34. *Et jam, etc.*; these words really give the ground for the preceding assertion; literally, and now, etc., i. e., *there were, namely, now about ten thousand men*.

7. *Occidione occisum*. *Occidione occidere* pro funditus, ad internecionem delere, Drakenborch; *utterly destroyed*.

11. *Edissertando... faciebant*; sc. ceteri scriptores. *Fecero* is the common reading; *faciam* in Alschevski's minor edition, which certainly agrees with the two preceding verbs in construction, and does not require, like *faciebant*, the supplying of a new subject. *Edissertare*, a word seldom found. "Supposing, as we fairly may, that the loss of the Romans in the late battle had been equal to that of their allies, there must have been killed or taken, within the last eighteen months, no fewer than 60,000, or more than a fifth part of the whole population of citizens above seventeen years of age. It must have been true, without exaggeration, that every house in Rome was in mourning."—Arnold, Hist. 2, p. 318.

15. *Hannibalis... factam*. See n. on *ditionis*, I. 25.

18. *Ad Egates insulas*. Compare n. XXI. 41.

20. *Vectigales ac stipendiarios*. See n. XXI. 41.

PAGE

LV. *The measures proposed by Fabius Maximus.*

214

26. *Dubitabant... venturum.* The accusative with the infinitive, with *dubito* and *non dubito*, is the prevailing construction in Livy. Drakenborch and Fabri at this place adduce numerous parallel passages.

30. *Nondum palam facto*; sc. qui vivi mortuique essent. A singular instance of the impersonal use of the participle in ablative absolute.

215

11. *Egredi urbem.* Accusative, as also III. 57, *urbem egrederentur*, and II. 37, *urbem excederent*, where see n.

LVI. *Intelligence from Canusium and from Sicily.*

15. *Pedibus...issent*; this expression is used to express the adoption of an opinion in the senate, because the senators who voted in the same way went over to the same side of the house. See Dict. Antiqq., p. 1019, on *discessio*.

37. *Provinciamque aliam R.*; i. e., *aliasque partes provinciæ Romanæ*.—Alschefski.

LVII. *Prodigies and sacrifices.—A levy is made.*

216

6. *Primo quoque tempore, etc.*; at the very earliest moment; see n. on *primos quoque*, XXI. 52.

13. *Quos nunc*; i. e., *scribas*.

17. *Libros.* See n. on this word, XXI. 62.

24. *Minime Romano.* Livy might well desire to disclaim such sacrifices as a Roman usage. On the sacrifice of human victims, see Dict. Antiqq., p. 999.

30. *Magnis itineribus contendit*; *hastens by forced marches*.

217

3. *Servitiis.* See n., II. 10.

LVIII. *Proposals for a ransom of Roman prisoners are made by Hannibal, and ten Romans are sent to negotiate it with the senate.*

14. *Et patres...et se, etc.*; the words *et—et* really connect here opposing thoughts; they may be translated, *as on the one hand—so on the other*. *Patres* refers to the Carthaginian fathers (in the sense of ancestors) of Hannibal and his army.

25. *Inclinarent*; sc. *Romani*.—Fabri.

LIX. *The speech of M. Junius before the senate.*

218

18. *Nec supersumus...nisi, etc.*; i. e., *nisi ii tantum in quibus, etc.*,

which is equivalent to—*nor do any of us survive, except those whom the enemy lacked sword and strength to slay.* PAGE
218

27. Prætulerint...sint; potential subj.; see H. 485; *nor would those indeed, etc., justly prefer themselves to us and boast, etc.*

35. Nam si. *Nam* is elliptical, as if had just been said: *Ourselves I do not compare with them; for if, etc.*—Fabri.

37. Si tamen...faciatis. These words are parenthetical; and the words following *cui nos*, etc., depend upon *animadvertendum*. *Si tamen, if indeed*, though. Fully to complete the sense of *tamen*, we may supply, with Alschevski, *quamvis ea quæ dixi vos tam duros esse vix patientur. Merito* here in a bad sense, *fault; without our having deserved it, i. e., without any fault of ours.*

2. Qui vos; i. e., *patres vestros.*

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13. Me dius fidius. *Fidius* (from *fides*) is a name of Jupiter, like the Greek Πίστιος, god of truth; *dius* = *deus*; and *me* is the demonstrative *e*, as in *ecastor*, with the prefix of *m*, as in *Mars*, from Ἄρης; μέχρις, from ἔχρις. See Lexicon, under *Fidius*; also Hand, Turs. 2, p. 342.

15. Indigni, ut. Livy has also *ut* with *dignus*, in XXIV. 16; in *dignus*, XXIII. 42; but the construction is unusual.

LX. The speech of T. Manlius Torquatus.

31. Nec prohibendos. *Nec* means *and yet not*. *Prohibere* with the infin., as in I. 39, toward the end.

33. Prædibusque ac prædiis; the *prædes* are persons, citizens owning real estate, *sureties*; the *prædia* are the *estates* of such persons, which are given as security.

1. Ullius...eorum; i. e., *captivorum.*

220

2. Quid...aliud quam...essetis. *What else—than, i. e., only. For I should only have needed to remind you.* See n. on *nihil aliud—quam*, II. 8.

30. Nec...dnceret. *Ducere* in the sense of *consider, regard*; *he would have regarded you neither indeed, etc.*

31. Viam, etc. The whole sense is this: Those words (i. e., *moria-mur, milites*, etc.) Sempronius neither said, nor could have said; but he pointed out the way that conducted no less to safety than to glory, and yet you would not follow him.

12. Conati sunt. See n. on *dedit*, II. 10.

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24. Nisi quis credere, etc. *Unless any one can believe that they were,* i. e., *that they were then good and faithful citizens, when, etc.*

2. Vobis. The ethical dative, see H. 389; *for you*; i. e., *this I say, that you, whom it chiefly concerns, may know all that has really taken place.*

3. Decuerat. See Z. § 518.

PAGE LXI. *The senate refuse to pay the ransom for the captives.*

30. Ita...ne; on this condition, that—not, etc.

223 4. Censoribus; abl. abs.; under the next censors.—*Confectos* is a stronger word than *affectedos* would have been, stronger also than the technical term *notatos*; it means *ruined* by the brands of ignominy which were fixed upon them by the censors.

24. Gratiae actae quod de re publica non desperasset. “The senate felt his confidence in them, and answered it nobly. All party feeling was suspended; all popular irritation was subdued; the butcher’s son, the turbulent demagogue, the defeated general, were all forgotten; only Varro’s latest conduct was remembered, that he had resisted the panic of his officers, and, instead of seeking shelter at the court of a foreign king, had submitted himself to the judgment of his country. The senate voted him their thanks, ‘because he had not despaired of the commonwealth.’”—Arnold, *Hist.*, 2, p. 320.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX. .

A.

Aborigines ; a word for the earliest inhabitants of Latium.

Ægates insulæ, three islands on the western coast of Sicily, between Lilybæum and Drepanum ; viz., Ægusa, Phorbantia, and Hieria ; now *Favignana*, *Levanzo*, and *Maretimo*.

Æqui, or Æquicōlæ. See Volsci, at the end.

Æsis, a river forming the northern boundary of Picenum, and the southern of Umbria, near the mouth of which stands Ancona.

Alba Longa, a town of Latium, southeast of Rome. *Albanus Mons*, a hill, on a ridge of which Alba stood, the scene of the *Latinæ Feriæ*.

Albula, the ancient name of the Tiber.

Algîdus, a hill in Latium, in the territory of the Æqui.

Alia ; see note, V. 37.

Allifæ, or Allifæ, a town in Samnium ; now *Alife*, in the Neapolitan Province Terra di Lavoro.

Allobroges, a people of Gaul, living on the Rhone, north of the Isère, who occupied most of what is called Savoy, and the northern part of Dauphiné. Capital was Vienna, now *Vienne*.

Amitemum, a town of the Sabines, on the Aternus.

Antemnæ, a Sabine town, on the Anio, at its junction with the Tiber

Antium, a town of Latium, south of Rome, about six miles from the mouth of the Tiber.

Appiōlæ, a Latin town, taken by Tarquinius Priscus.

Apulia, a district of Lower Italy. Comp. Aufidus.

Arar, a river in Gaul, now the *Saone*.

Arbocala, according to Polybius and Livy, a town of the Vaccaei in Spain (which word see) ; according to others, of the Vettones in Lusitania.

Ardëa, chief town of the Rutuli in Latium, not quite a mile from the sea ; now *Ardea* in the Papal States.

Argiletum. See note, I. 19.

Aricia, a town in Latium, on the Appian Way.

Ariminum, a town in Umbria, on the Adriatic Sea ; now *Rimini* in the Papal States.

Arnus, a river in Etruria ; now the *Arno*.

Arpi, a town in Western Apulia.

Arretium, an Etrurian town near the Apennines ; the modern *Arezzo* in Tuscany.

Arsia, a wood in the neighborhood of Rome, near the Janiculum.

- Atellani, inhabitants of *Atella*, a small town in Campania, between Neapolis and Capua; near the modern town *Aversa*, in the kingdom of Naples.
- Athanagia, chief town of the Ilergetes, in Spain. See Ilergetes.
- Aufidus, a river in Apulia, dividing that district into two parts, of which the eastern was called Daunia, and the western Peucetia; the modern *Ofanto*.
- Ausetani, a people of Spain, in the northeastern part of the modern *Catalonia*.
- Aventinus, sc. *mons*, or *Aventium*, one of the seven hills of Rome. See Plan.

B.

- Balears, or Balears insulæ, called by the Greeks *Gymnesiæ*, two islands in the Mediterranean, which belonged to Hispania Tarraconensis; *Bal. major*, now *Majorca*; *Bal. minor*, now *Minorca*. The inhabitants were called *Balears*, and were celebrated as *slingers*, *βάλλειν*. See Ebusus.
- Bargusii, a people of Spain, near the Pyrenees. According to Mannert, they formed a part of the Ilergetes.
- Beneventum, a town in Samnium; now *Benevento*, in the Neapolitan Province, *Principato ulteriore*, but belonging to the Papal States.
- Boii, a powerful tribe in Cisalpine Gaul, whose settlements were on the south of the Po, and extended beyond the modern *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Bologna*.
- Bovianum, a town in Samnium; now *Boiano*, in the Neapolitan Province *Molise*.
- Brixiani, inhabitants of *Brixia*, chief town of the Cenomanni in Gallia Transpadana; the modern *Brescia*.
- Bruttii, a people in the southern extremity of Italy, inhabiting the district *Bruttium*, the modern *Calabria*. Comp. *Lucani*.

C.

- Cænina, a Sabine town, northeast of Rome, on a branch of the Anio. Inhabitants, *Cæninenses*, *Cænini*.
- Cære, a city in Etruria, northwest of Rome, now *Cerveteri* in the Papal States. In the vicinity were springs, called *Cærites*, or *Cærètes*.
- Calatia, a town in Campania; now *Caiazzo*, in the Neapolitan Province, Terra di Lavoro. *Calatinus*.
- Cales, a town in Campania; now *Calvi*, in the Neapolitan Province, Terra di Lavoro. *Calenus*.
- Callicula, sc. *mons*, a mountain-chain in Campania, stretching from Cales eastward toward the Vulturnus.
- Cannæ, a village in Apulia, on the right bank of the Aufidus; now *Canne*, in the Neapolitan Province, Terra di Bari.
- Canusium, a city in Apulia, near the right bank of the Aufidus; now *Canosa*, in the Neapolitan Province, Terra di Bari.
- Capena, a town in Etruria, north of Rome. It was probably near the Tiber, not far from the site of the modern village of *Fiano*.
- Capena, Porta, a gate of Rome, on the east. See Plan of Rome.
- Capitolinus, *mons*, one of the seven hills of Rome. See Plan.
- Capua, the capital of Campania, situated near the modern village of *St. Maria*, in the Neapolitan Province, Terra di Lavoro.
- Carpetani, a people of Spain, whose territory was bounded on the north by the *Durius* (Douro), on the west by *Lusitania*, on the south by the

- Oretani*, and on the east by the *Celtiberi*; i. e., the modern Valladolid, south of the Douro, the provinces of Avila and Segovia, the greatest part of Guadalaxara, and most of the central part of Toledo. Cities: *Toletum* (*Toledo*), *Contrebia*, *Segovia*, etc.
- Cartala, capital of the Olcades, Liv. XXI. 4. Others, however, read in that passage, *Cartheia*, which Polybius, 3, 13, mentions as a town on the Fretum Gaditanum. Another reading still is *Althæa*.
- Carthago Nova, a city in Spain; the modern *Carthagena* in Murcia.
- Casilinum, a city in Campania, on the river Volturnus; the modern *Capua*, in the Neapolitan Province, Terra di Lavoro.
- Casinum, a town of the Volsci, in Latium, on the site of which is the modern town of *St. Germano*. Adject. *Casinas*.
- Castùlo, a city in Spain, near the source of the river Bætis; according to Mannert, the modern *Cazorla*, in Jaen.
- Caudinæ Furculæ, a mountain-pass in Samnium, on the road from Capua to Beneventum.
- Celtiberia, territory of the Celtiberi, the most numerous people of Spain, who lived in the southwestern part of the modern Arragonia, in the south of Navarra, in eastern Old Castile (Prov. Soria), and northeastern New Castile (Prov. Cuença).
- Cenomāni, or Cenomanni, a Celtic people in Cisalpine Gaul, on the north side of the Po, in the neighborhood of the modern Brescia, Mantua, and Verona.
- Cercīna, an island in the Syrtis Minor, on the coast of Africa.
- Circeii, a town in Latium, on the coast, about sixty miles south of Rome.
- Clastidium, a town in Liguria; now *Casteggio*.
- Clusium, an Etrurian town, northwest of Rome.
- Cœlius, mons, one of the seven hills of Rome. See Plan.
- Collatia, a Latin town, a little to the north of Gabii.
- Collīna, Porta, one of the gates of Rome. See Plan.
- Corbio; see note, II. 39.
- Coriōli; see note, II. 39.
- Cornicūlum, a Latin town, taken by Tarquinius Priscus.
- Cortōna, a city of Etruria, one and a half geographical miles northwest of *Lacus Trasimenus*; now *Cortona*, in Tuscany.
- Cremōna, a city on the northern bank of the Po, in Cisalpine Gaul; now *Cremona*.
- Cremonis jugum; otherwise called *Alpis Graia*, the modern *Little St. Bernard*. See note on XXI. 38; and the Map of the Passage of Hannibal.
- Croton, or Croto, or Crotona, a city in Magna Græcia, on the Gulf of Tarentum; now *Cotrone*.
- Crustumerium, a town northeast of Rome, and near the sources of the Alia.
- Cures, a Sabine town, on the Via Salaria.

D.

- Druentia, a river in Gaul; now the *Durance*.
- Delphi, a town in Phocis, and the seat of the celebrated oracle of Apollo.

E.

- Ebŭsus insula, the largest of the islands called *Pityusæ*, off the coast of Spain; now called *Ivica*; by some ranked among the Balearic islands.
- Emporiæ, or Emporium, a Greek colonial town in Spain; now *Empurias* in Catalonia.

- Eneti, a people who lived in Paphlagonia, on the Parthenius.
 Eryx, a mountain on the northwest coast of Sicily, now called *St. Giuliano*.
 Esquilæ, one of the seven hills of Rome. See Plan.
 Etovissa, a town of the Edetani in Spain.
 Euganei, a people who lived in the north of Italy, on the southern slopes of the Alps, near the lakes Benacus, Sebinus, and Larius.

F.

- Fæsulæ, a city in Etruria; the modern village of *Fiesole*, near Florence.
 Falerii, a city of the Falisci in Etruria.
 Falernus ager, a district of Campania, celebrated for its wines.
 Ferentinum. See note, II. 38.
 Ficana, a town taken by Ancus Marcius; it was on the Via Ostiensis.
 Fidenæ, now *Castel Giubileo*, a town northeast of Rome, near the junction of the Cremera with the Tiber.
 Formiæ, a city in Latium, on the coast, near the site of which is the little town of *Mola*.
 Fretum Siculum, the Straits between Italy and Sicily, now *Faro di Messina*, or *Straits of Messina*.

G.

- Gabii, a Latin town between Rome and Præneste.
 Gades, a city in Spain, now *Cadiz*. In its vicinity was a celebrated temple of Hercules.
 Genua, a town in Liguria; now *Genua*, *Genoa*, in the Kingdom of Sardinia.
 Geronium, a town in Daunia.

H.

- Heraclæa, a city in Magna Græcia, near the mouth of the Liris.
 Herculis Columnæ, *Pillars of Hercules*, two mountains on the opposite shores of the Gulf of Gibraltar; *Calpe* (Gibraltar), in Spain, and *Abyla* (Cape Serra), in Africa.
 Hermandica, a city of the Vaccæi, in Spain.
 Hirpini, a people of Samnium, who occupied the country which is now the *Principato ulteriore* of the kingdom of Naples.
 Hispaniæ. Livy frequently uses this plural, in reference to *Hispania citerior* and *Hispania ulterior*; the former the eastern part of Spain, afterwards called *Tarraconensis*, and the latter the southern and western parts, *Lusitania* and *Bætica*.
 Honosca; see Onusa.

I.

- Ibærus, the *Ebro*, river in Spain.
 Ilergavonenses, or Lergavonenses, or Ilercaonenses, a people in Spain, east of the Edetani, on both sides of the Ebro, and near its mouth.
 Ilergetes, the most extensive people living between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. They occupied nearly the whole of what is now called Arragonia, together with Lerida.
 Iliberri, a town in Gaul; now *Elne*.
 Insubres, a people in Cisalpine Gaul, whose territory extended southward to the Po, on the west to the river Sesia, and on the north to the Alps. Chief city, Mediolanum, now Milan.
 Isara, *Isère*, river in France.

J.

Janiculum, a hill not included in the seven on which Rome was built; on the west side of the Tiber. See Plan of Rome.

L.

Lacetania, territory of the Lacetani, extending from the Pyrenees down towards the Ebro, and embracing the northern half of the modern Catalonia.

Lacus Trasimenus. See Trasimenus.

Lanuvium, a town in Latium, now the village of *Civita Lavigna*.

Larinum, a town in the territory of the Frentani; now *Larino* in the Neapolitan Province *Capitanata*.

Laurens ager, the territory of Laurentum, on the coast of Latium, not far from the mouth of the Tiber.

Lavici; see note, II. 39.

Libui Galli, a tribe in Cisalpine Gaul; according to Mannert, in the neighborhood of the modern *Bergamo* and *Brescia*; according to others, the same as the Libici, who lived near Vercelli, on both sides of the Sesia.

Ligures, inhabitants of Liguria, a country extending along the *Mare Ligusticum* (Gulf of Genoa); now Genoa, Piedmont, and Nice.

Lilybæum, a city on the western coast of Sicily, where is now the city of Marsala.

Liparæ insulæ, also Æoliæ or Vulcaniæ Insulæ, islands north of Sicily.

Liternum, or Linternum, a city in Campania, north of the mouth of the river *Liternus*; now *Patria*.

Locri, or Locrenses Epizephyrii, inhabitants of the town of Locri, and the surrounding country in Bruttium.

Longuntica, a city in Spain south of the Ebro, on the sea-coast.

Luca, Lucca, city in Etruria; now *Lucca*.

Lucāni, a tribe in Lower Italy, separated from Campania and Apulia by the rivers Silārus and Bradānus, and from Bruttium by the Laus and Sybāris.

Luceria, a city in Daunian Apulia; now *Lucera*.

Lusitania; this name belonged first to the country between the Durus and the Tagus, from the sea as far as the eastern border of modern Portugal. Afterwards, as a Roman province, it embraced all of Portugal south of the Douro, Salamanca, the largest part of Estremadura, and the western extremity of the province of Toledo.

M.

Mæsia, the name of a wood, probably between Rome and the sea.

Marrucini, a people who lived in the country which is now the *Hither Abruzzo* (*Abruzzo citeriore*) of the kingdom of Naples, on the right bank of the Aternus. Capital, *Teate*, now *Chieti*.

Marsi, a people in Samnium, north of Lacus Fucinus.

Massicus mons, a range of hills on the borders of Latium and Campania, celebrated for the wines grown there.

Massilia, a city in southern Gaul, now *Marseilles*.

Medullia, an Alban town, northeast of Rome.

Melita, or Melite; the island of *Malta*.

Menix or Meninx insula, an island in the *Syrtis Minor*, on the coast of Africa

Messāna, a city in Sicily; *Messina*.

Metapontum, a city in Magna Græcia, on the Gulf of Tarentum.

Mutina, a Roman city in Cisalpine Gaul; now *Modena*.

N.

Neapölis, *Naples*.

Nova Classis, a place in Spain, whose exact situation is unknown.

Numicus, a river of Latium.

Numidæ, a people living on the north coast of Africa.

O.

Oriculum, the last southern city in Umbria, on the Tiber.

Olcædes, a people in Spain, near the sources of the Anas, probably in the southern part of the modern Cuença, in the mountains of Ortospeda.

Onusa, a city in Spain, south of the Ebro, on the sea-coast; according to some, the modern village of *Joyosa* in Valencia.

Oretani, a tribe in Spain, whose territory probably corresponded to the eastern part of *Estremadura*, most of the central part of *La Mancha*, the eastern extremity of *Jaen*, and the northern extremity of *Granada*.

Ostia, a town in Latium, not far from the mouth of the Tiber.

P.

Padus, the Po, chief river of Italy.

Pæstum, or Posidonia, a town in Lucania, near the mouth of the Silærus.

Pallanteum, an ancient Arcadian city.

Pedum; see note, II. 39.

Peligni, a people in Samnium, whose territory corresponded to the modern *Abruzzo citeriore*, in the kingdom of Naples.

Pœninus (mons), the modern *Great St. Bernard*.

Pentri, a Samnite people, whose capital was *Bovianum*.

Picenum, a district of Italy, nearly corresponding to the modern Mark *Ancona*, in the Papal States.

Pisæ, a city in Etruria, at the junction of the *Arnus* (*Arno*) and the *Auser* (*Serchio*); now *Pisa*.

Placentia, a city on the Po; now *Piacenza*.

Politorium, a Latin town, south of Rome.

Pometia, a town of Latium, at one time the capital of the Volsci; called also *Suessa*, and *Suessa Pometia*.

Præneste, a city in Latium; now *Palestrina*.

Prætutianus ager. This district was separated from Picenum proper by the river Truentus (Tronto), and extended on the south to the river Vomānus (Vomano); it corresponds to the modern *Teramo*.

R.

Rhodānus, Rhone, river in France.

Ruscino, a city on a river of the same name in southern Gaul; now *la Tour de Roussillon*, not far from Perpignan.

Rutuli, a people on the coast of Latium; capital, *Ardëa*.

S.

Sabini, an Italian people, who dwelt originally about Amiternum in the Apennines; afterwards they occupied a territory bounded on the east by

- the Apennines, on the west by the Tiber, on the north by the river Nar, and on the south by the Anio.
- Sacer (mons), a hill about three miles from Rome. on the right bank of the Anio.
- Saguntum (neut.), and Saguntus (fem.), a city of Spain on the Sinus Sucronensis, in the territory of the Edetani; its ruins are visible near the modern town of *Murviédro*, which indeed derives its name from those ruins (*Muri veteres*).
- Salassi, a people of Cisalpine Gaul, who lived in the valley of the Duria (*Doria Baltea*), whose country corresponded to the mountain-region in the northwestern part of Piedmont.
- Salyes, or Salluvii, a tribe of Gauls who lived on the Druentia and Rhodanus, in the country corresponding to the modern *Provence*.
- Samnium, the territory of the Samnites in Central Italy, which extended from Campania northward as far as the Adriatic; divided into the cantons of the Frentinians, Hirpinians, Pentrians, and Caudines.
- Satricum; see note, II. 39.
- Seissis, or Cissa, a town in Lacetania (which word see).
- Senōnes, a tribe of Transalpine Gauls, who afterwards settled in Umbria.
- Sidicīni, an inconsiderable Ausonian tribe, who occupied the northern parts of Mons Massicus. Their chief town was Teanum Sidicinum; now *Teano*.
- Signia, a town about forty miles southwest of Rome, near the Via Latina; now *Segni*.
- Sinuessa, a town in Latium on the sea-coast; on the via Appia, between Minturnæ and Capua. Near it were hot baths, called *Aquæ Sinuessanæ*.
- Spolētum, or Spoletium, a city in Umbria; now *Spoletto*, in the Papal States.
- Stellas Campus, a fruitful Campanian district, south of Cales.
- Suessa; see Pometia.
- Sulci, an old Carthaginian town on the southern coast of Sardinia.
- Surrentum, a city in Campania; now *Sorrento*, in the Bay of Naples.
- Syracūsæ, an important city on the east coast of Sicily; now *Siracusa*.

T.

- Tagus, the *Tajo*, river in Spain and Portugal.
- Tannētum, first a village of the Boii, afterwards a city of Cisalpine Gaul, on the road between Parma and Mutina; according to Mannert, the modern village *St. Ilario*, according to others, *Taneto*.
- Tarentum, a celebrated city in Magna Græcia, on a gulf of the same name, which is now the Gulf of Taranto.
- Tarquīni, a city of Etruria, on the Marta.
- Tarracīna, a city of the Volsci in Latium, called also Anxur, near the Pontine marshes; now *Terracina*.
- Tarrāco, a town in the country of the Cosetani in Spain; from which the name Hispania Tarraconensis was derived; now *Tarragona*.
- Taurīni, a Ligurian tribe, south of the Salassi. Capital, *Augusta Taurinorum*, now *Turin*.
- Telesia, a town in Samnium; now *Teles*.
- Tellenæ, a Latin town south of Rome, taken by Ancus Marcius.
- Tibur, one of the oldest cities of Latium, on the Anio; now *Tivoli*.
- Ticinus, now *Tessino*, or *Ticino*, river in Cisalpine Gaul.
- Trasimēnus Lacus, a lake in Etruria; now *Lago di Perugia*, in the Papal States.

Trebia, a Latin town taken by Coriolanus.

Trebia, *Trebia*, a river in Cisalpine Gaul.

Tricastini; see note XXI. 31.

Tricorii, a tribe in Gaul, east of the Vocontii, in the neighborhood of the modern *Briançon*.

Turdetani, a tribe in Spain, in the western part of Bætica. They afterwards extended westward along the coast, beyond the Anas (*Guadiana*) to the farthest limits of Spain; also mentioned in XXI. 6, as living near Saguntum.

U.

Umbria, a country in Central Italy, bounded on the north by the Rubico, west by the Tiber, northeast by the sea, south by the Nar.

Utens, a river in Cisalpine Gaul.

V.

Vaccæi, a tribe in the north of Spain, on the Durus, who occupied the greatest part of the modern Valladolid, the northern extremity of Salamanca, the southeast extremity of Leon, southern Palencia, and the largest part of Toro. Chief town Palantia, now *Palencia*.

Vecilius (Mons). See note, III. 50.

Veii, an Etrurian town, twelve miles northwest of Rome.

Velia. See note, II. 7, and Plan of Rome.

Venusia, a town on the borders of Apulia and Lucania, but belonging to the former; now *Venosa*.

Vibonensis Ager, district of the city *Vibo Valentia*, on the western coast of Bruttium.

Victumviæ, in Cisalpine Gaul, not far from Placentia.

Viminalis, Collis, one of the seven hills of Rome. See Plan.

Vocontii, a tribe in southeastern Gaul, whose territory embraced a part of the modern *Provence*, and the southeastern part of *Dauphiné*.

Volcæ, a Celtic tribe in southern Gaul, on the west side of the Rhone, who were divided into two branches: 1. Volcæ Arecomici, whose country extended from the river Orbis (*Orbe*), or, according to Mannert, the river Arauris (*Herault*), to the Rhone; 2. Volcæ Tectosages, who lived westward of the former, towards the Pyrenees. The chief town of the *Arecomici* was Nimausus, *Nîmes*; of the Tectosages, Tolosa, *Toulouse*.

Volciani, tribe in Spain, near the Bargusii.

Volsci. From the Anio to the sea at Tarracina extends a line of highlands interrupted by a break, to the south of Præneste, and thereby divided into two parts of unequal length, the shorter one extending from Tibur to Præneste, the longer from Præneste to Tarracina and the sea. Of this mountain wall, the longer part was occupied by the Volscians, the shorter by the Æquians. See Arnold's Hist., I, p. 120.

Vulcani Insula, the most southerly of the Liparæan islands; also called *Hiëra*; now *Volcano*.

Vulturnus, now *Volturno*, river in Campania.

Z.

Zacynthus, an island in the Ionian sea; now *Zante*.

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"There are already several American editions of Horace, intended for the use of schools; of one of these, which has passed through many editions, and has also been widely circulated in England, mention has been formerly made in this journal; but that one we may not put upon an equality with the one now before us, inasmuch as this has taken a different stand-point, which may serve as a sign of progress in this department of study. The editor has, it is true, also intended his work for the use of schools, and has sought to adapt it, in all its parts, to such a use; but still, without losing sight of this purpose, he has proceeded throughout with more independence. In the preparation of the Notes, the editor has faithfully observed the principles (laid down in his preface); the explanations of the poet's words commend themselves by a compressed brevity which limits itself to what is most essential, and by a sharp precision of expression; and references to other passages of the poet, and also to grammars, dictionaries, etc., are not wanting."

Sallust's Jugurtha and Catiline.

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